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Datia Succession 1839-40

BY

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA, M.A., D.Phil.

In the principalities of Bundelkhand, subordinate to the British Government, the right of the Rajas to adopt whom they pleased was the most commonly accepted practice sanctioned by past traditions and long usage. But in most cases the system actually in vogue was the adoption of illegitimate offsprings in the absence of legitimate heirs to the throne.[1] During the thirties of the nineteenth century the Rajas of Panna and Bijawar were either illegitimate offsprings or descendants of an illegitimate branch of the illustrious family of Raja Chhatrasal.[2] Almost at the same time Rao Raja Parikshit Bahadur of Datia lost all hopes of having a progeny from his wife who had become invalid in the prime of her youth. Devoted to her husband and to the cause of her family, she advised the Raja to marry a second wife in order to have a son for the continuance of the royal family and the state. But the Raja who was equally devoted to her invariably refused to marry again.[3] In these circumstances the question of succession was destined to crop up sooner or later. There was no nearer claimant to the throne on the ground of legitimacy of birth than the aged Raja of Tehri and Orchha who was also without an 'offspring born in wedlock'.[4] Rao Raja Parikshit Bahadur was, therefore, anxious to adopt a son to succeed him after his death in order to maintain the separate existence of his ancestral state. He spotted out an illegitimate son of his own, aged four years, for this purpose and filed an application with the British Political Agent in 1830 for permission to adopt a boy of tender age and to obtain confirmation of the British Government for his adopted heir. To dispel any fears of future complications which might arise if a son was born to him at a future date, he stated that in that event the superior claims of the legitimate son

1. Bengal Pol. Con., 3rd September, 1832, No. 104.
2, 3 and 4. *Ibid.*

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would prevail against those of an adopted one and no inconvenience would result on that score.[5]

As the question of succession was not an imminent one, all the pros and cons of the case were leisurely studied. At first, when the parentage of the proposed heir was not known to Mr. Ainslie, the Agent to the Governor-General, he simply gave a very casual consideration to the Raja's request for permission to adopt by expressing a pious hope that there would be no necessity for an adoption as he himself would be blessed with an offspring in his own family and if it ever became absolutely necessary, then the selection of a boy from amongst the sons of his own relations would be most advisable.[6] In this respect the attitude of the Rani and the related ruling families of Tehri and other states of Bundelkhand was ascertained. There seemed to be no likelihood of opposition on the part of the former as she herself had acknowledged the boy as her adopted son. The latter too had not shown any sign of opposition. Mahendra Vikramajit, the Raja of Tehri and Orchha, who was the senior member of the ancestral family of Raja Bir Singh Deo, had acquiesced in his relative's request by attending the hair-cutting ceremony of that boy and dining with the Raja of Datia on that occasion. Ram Chandra Rao, the Subedar of Jhansi, and several other chieftains of Bundelkhand had also participated in that ceremony.[7] The mother of the boy being of the Kshatriya caste, there was no objection to the adoption of her son.[8] Kunwar Dharmpal, the son of the ruler of Tehri and Orchha, who alone could have legally disputed the claims of the adopted son had already expired. Hence, fear of a fratricidal dispute for succession was practically negligible although the aspirants could not be prevented from feeling frustrated.

On political grounds, too there was no objection to adoption. By the treaty with the state of Datia, signed on 15th March 1804, its ruler was recognised as an independent chieftain. His right to

5. Two letters from the Raja of Datia to Mr. Ainslie, Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelkhand, 25th September, 1830, & 28th October, 1830.

6. A letter from the Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelkhand to the Raja of Datia, 7th October, 1830.

7. A letter from the Raja of Datia to the Political Agent, 24th February, 1831.

8. Bengal Pol. Con., 3rd September, 1832, N.. 104.

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nominate a successor could not be legally disputed or challenged. He had all along been a faithful ally of the British Government. The only question, therefore, was as to what would be the policy of the Government of the East India Company in this regard; whether in the absence of a legitimate offspring the Government would decide to permit an adoption and leave the state to its own fate or it would allow the state to lapse to the Paramount State.[9] Lapse had not become a common practice till then. It was only sparingly used when the British interests strongly dictated that course and the magnitude of adverse reactions was not feared to be great. In this case, lapse was considered inexpedient. Recognition of adoption was, therefore, considered to be most feasible by the Political Agent.[10]

Another question that required a categorical decision was whether by the terms of the treaty signed with the individual chieftain in possession of the state and his successors the words 'and his successors' would include his uncles, brothers and their children or only his sons and their children. In this connection, the case of the principality of Charkhari was recalled, where the ruler had taken a very strong stand, that by virtue of the Raj having been conferred upon him and his descendants by the British Government it must pass on rightfully to the Paramount Power in the absence of a desdendant.[11] But at last this question was shelved as lapse was not contemplated.

For sometime the Political Agent adopted the policy of letting things alone and did not refer the matter to the Governor-General due to certain weighty considerations in his mind. Firstly, he expected that things would take a definite shape within a short time as was the case at Sumthar, where the Raja, under similar circumstances, had made a request for adoption but had later on withdrawn his request when a son was born to him. Secondly, he thought that the request of the Raja of Datia was dictated by sentiments and that in all probability he would marry again in the event of the death of his wife which was not improbable. Thirdly, he thought that delay would enable him to have

9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

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a full grasp of the situation.[12] But when on the death of the Rani without an issue the Raja showed no inclination to marry again and no claimant to the throne submitted his claims, the Political Agent placed the matter before the Governor-General for obtaining necessary guidance to determine his attitude in this case of succession.[13] Lord William Bentinck studied the entire case and accorded sanction to the illegitimate child of the Raja of Datia as his adopted son and heir to the *gaddi* on May 9, 1833, as he was already recognised by other chiefs of the same descent, including the royal family of Orchha.[14] However, as a precautionary measure, it was stipulated that in the event of the birth of a legitimate son to the Raja, if he happened to marry again, the adopted one might be set aside with a suitable provision.[15] In this way the path was made clear for the succession of the young adopted boy to the *gaddi* of Datia.

Six years after, on the 13th August, 1839, Raja Parikshit Bahadur of Datia expired prematurely and his fondling, a boy of thirteen years succeeded him under the name of Raja Bijai Bahadur.[16] The old Dewan, Ganesh Das, continued to manage the affairs of the state during the minority of the young chief with admirable efficiency. This was the occasion for the aspirants to express their displeasure. Certain very distant relations of the ruling family did not like the succession of a fondling, altogether unconnected with the ruling family, to the exclusion of their own or their descendants' claims.[17] This indicated that disturbances of some kind were not improbable.

Till the death of Raja Parikshit Bahadur nobody in the state had disputed the right of his illegitimate son to succeed to the *gaddi* as an adopted son. But soon after his death, Dewan Madan Singh of Beroni, a member of the collateral branch of the late Raja's family, disputed the right of Bijai Bahadur.[18] To prevent

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Bengal P.C., 13th March, 1834 No. 3.
15. Bengal Pol. Con., Despatch of 22nd August 1833.
16. A letter from S. Fraser, Political Agent in Bundelkhand to T. A., Maddock, Secretary to the Government, 20th August, 1839.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Political despatch of the Governor-General, 13th April 1840.

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him from disturbing the peace of the realm the two most influential ministers of the state, viz. Dewan Ganesh Das and Kunwar Bikramjit, son of the sister of the late Raja's father, acted with great promptitude and showed steadfast loyalty to the cause of the young ruler. They increased the military forces of the state and succeeded in nipping in the bud an attempt to unseat Bijai Bahadur from the *gaddi*. On account of peace and good government in the country, the people looked apparently quite happy and no other sign of trouble of any kind was visible.[19] Later on many of the soldiers appointed temporarily were removed and their places were taken by a small and efficient body of disciplined men. The claims of the Beroni family were set aside.

About a month after his accession to the throne of Datia, the young Raja Bijai Bahadur addressed a *kharita* to the Governor-General on the 16th September, 1839, and another to the Chief Secretary to the Government of North-Western Provinces on the same date, seeking their favour for himself as ruler of Datia.[20] About three months after, he again addressed *kharitas* to them expressing his desire to have an interview with the Governor-General who was scheduled to pass though the Sindhia's territories on his way to Calcutta.[21] Before giving a reply the Governor-General asked for the views of the Political Agent, S. Fraser, on the question of the grant of an interview to the new ruler of Datia, the recognition of his title, and the amount of *nazrana* to be demanded from him on the occasion of the proposed interview.[22]

The approach of S. Fraser was different from that of M. Ainslie. The latter had declared him to be an illegitimate son of the late Raja in his report of 14th July, 1830. The former believed it to be inaccurate. He was of the view that the formal recognition of Bijai Bahadur as the chief of Datia and the terms of his recognition would involve a reference to the principles which would constitute the foundation of British policy towards a class of states in the region of Bundelkhand to which Datia

19. *Ibid.*
20. A letter from S. Fraser to Maddock, 2nd January, 1840.
21. A letter from Fraser to Maddock, 20th January, 1840.
22. A letter from Maddock to Fraser, 10th January, 1840.

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belonged.[23] In this connection he recalled the policy of non-intervention laid down by the Court of Directors in their despatch of 30th August, 1837 and explicitly stated by Sir Charles Metcalfe, on 28th October, 1837, which enjoined the recognition of succession apparently agreeable to the Ruling Prince and the people or to the latter on the demise of the former. In the case of Datia succession, the problem was whether consistent with this principle the incumbent was to be recognised as ruler *de jure* or *de facto*. The observations of the Court of Directors were directed to the latter, while those of Sir Charles Metcalfe appeared chiefly directed to the former.[24]

It was certain beyond doubt that the recognition of the rights of Raja Bijai Bahadur to the *gaddi* of Datia would unquestionably give support and stability to his authority which unrecognised he would not possess. It was equally certain that to leave him unrecognised would expose him to difficulties in the management of his state successfully. Some sort of recognition to him, therefore, seemed unavoidable. Of the two courses open to the Paramount Power, the recognition of Bijai Bahadur as the *de facto* ruler was considered to be the simplest practical rule for the British Government to pursue. It was not considered to be in any way inconsistent with the general course of British policy, which had never strictly adhered to the terms of past engagements, although at times it seemed to be tantamount to total renunciation of all reversionary rights of succession to the Raj on the part of the British Government and even altered materially the character of British engagements which were made with a specified chief and his heirs and successors in perpetuity.[25]

On the other hand, the recognition of a chief as the heir *de jure* would bind the British Government to support his rights against all assailants and to restrain him from misgovernment. This would involve interference in the internal affairs of that state in opposition to the proposed principle of non-interference and would place the British Government in a very embarrassing situation.[26]

23. A letter from Fraser to Maddock, 15th January, 1840.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*

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At that stage when Raja Bijai Bahadur was already in undisturbed possession of his state it was not considered wise to advert to the original issue of adoption recognised six years ago. If it was in any way irregular it was irremediable. Even though his peaceful accession was probably due to the grant of recognition to him during the life-time of the late Raja, he was fully entitled to recognition as the ruler *de facto*.[27] Therefore, the best possible way, according to the Political Agent, was to assure the Raja that he would be allowed to retain possession of his Raj so long as he could support himself in the exercise of his authority and that the British help to him would extend solely to protection from the acts of external aggression.[28]

The question of *nazrana* was considered to be intimately connected with the policy to be adopted. If Raja Bijai Bahadur was to be recognised as the ruler *de facto* the British Government would have no just claim to a *nazrana* as it would yield him no equivalent and would not be called upon to interfere in his behalf if he was ousted.[29] On the other hand, if he was to be recognised as the ruler *de jure* the demand of a Nazrana would be perfectly justified as it would mean support to him against all opposition. In a case of this kind, the *nazrana* would be the price of British assistance to him.[30] Having explained the implications of the recognition of Bijai Bahadur as Raja *de jure* or Raja *de facto*, Mr. Fraser preferred the latter without any demand of a *nazrana*.[31] The Governor-General agreed with this view and expressed his decision to accord him the necessary recognition by grant of an interview without any *nazrana*. He was so much pleased with the loyalty of the Raja to the Paramount Power and with the efficiency in the administration of his state that he exempted him from the observance of an important condition of the treaty to dispose of his troops and to contribute something to the formation of the Bundelkhand Legion.[32] In lieu of it he was asked to maintain a small body of disciplined troopers, to be kept at the

27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Minute of the Governor-General Lord Auckland, 30th January, 1840; A letter from Maddock to Fraser, 30th January, 1840.

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disposal of the British Government without any payment, whenever required, for the preservation of general tranquillity in that region.

Recognition of Raja Bijai Bahadur as the *de facto* ruler and not as the Raja *de jure* of the state of Datia was full of dangerous possibilities for the peace and future of the state. It could have worked as an encouragement to rebellion, for the Raja was not granted any legal status and the British Government was not necessarily bound to support him against his enemies. Any ambitious person in the state could have taken advantage of this state of affairs to subvert his government and oust him from the throne and become the *de facto* ruler by sheer dint of might. The *de facto* ruler could be removed even by the Paramount Power at any time or on any pretext without any legal flaw. This policy of the British Government amounted to an imposiiton of liabilities on the ruler without itself being required to observe any reciprocity. It indicates that Raja Bijai Bahadur, who treated the Political Agent as his friend and benefactor, was allowed to become the ruler of Datia not by virtue of his right but simply by British benevolence and his own *de facto* position. Being a regularly adopted son, he was morally and legally entitled to succession in a *de jure* capacity. The denial of legal status to him was not without some end in view. The policy of questioning the legality of succession had started by that time although it had not become a general rule or it had not assumed the appearance of a doctrine. If necessary, this demotion of the adopted successor from his basic status could be used in future for the application of the land-grabbing policy of lapse which was unscrupulously employed during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie. The true implications of this policy were probably not fully grasped by the principalities of Bundelkhand at that time. Although in actual practice the issue of the state of Datia did not create any significant problem in future, all the same the policy adopted in 1840 by Lord Auckland contained seeds of a deep game which was not extended ultimately to its logical conclusions simply due to inexpedient circumstances.

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The Foundation of the Congress and *Russophobia*

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
University of Lucknow

It is indeed curious that there is as yet no satisfactory answer to the question as to why actually the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. It would be wrong to assume that the Congress appeared as a sudden efflorescence. It would be equally misleading to assume, as many are inclined to assume, that the Congress was ushered in as a freedom movement. It is true that the Congress constituted a visible embodiment of the national awakening that came over India as a result of the impact of Western civilisation on Indian thought. It was thus in a way a fulfilment of the forces which British rule itself had set in motion. But, when one examines the various theories which have been advanced to explain the actual inception of the Congress, one finds that not one of them furnishes a convincing explanation. This creates the suspicion that the real object behind the foundation of the Congress could not be publicly acknowledged by its British promoter, Mr. A. O. Hume.

In the history of British rule in India, there occurs no greater paradox than the fact that the Congress which has successfully fought for India's independence for more than six decades owed its origin and initial progress to the enterprise of a British ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Revenue Departments, Mr. Hume. The considerations which impelled Mr. Hume and his co-adjutors are not clear. We have it on the authority of an ex-President of the Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, that Mr. Hume at first had intended to bring together leading Indian politicians once a year to discuss questions of social interest only. In other words, the Congress was intended to have been just a social conference. It is a pity that our historians have so far paid little attention to the considerations which forced Mr. Hume

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to transform the Congress into a political body. To the average Englishmen in the last century, the idea of an all-India national organisation might well have sounded fantastic, if not positively dangerous. Yet, it is a fact that to a small group of farsighted Britishers the idea seemed desirable that Indian leadership should be organised for the benefit of England as much as of India.

There is no doubt about the fact that Mr. Hume was a liberal statesman and that he had little faith in the doctrine of "the whiteman's burden"—the gospel of the white bureaucracy to which he himself had belonged. He was one of those rare "White Babus" who thought it essential in the interest of the British Empire to direct the Indian political aspirations into constitutional channels. But, it was certainly not India's freedom or home-rule to which Mr. Hume could have looked forward. He and his collaborators sought in fact to strengthen rather than undermine the foundations of the British Empire. If they pleaded for reforms, they desired no snapping of the existing ties between England and India, but only asked for the loosening of those ties so as to make the connection both durable and popular.

An inquiry into the available evidence leads one to suppose that Mr. Hume's real originality lay not so much in the propounding of the idea of an Indian National Congress, for the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876, had already arranged for the Indian National Conference in 1883 at the instance of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, but that his achievement was the bypassing of the aforesaid Indian National Conference and the formation of an admittedly loyalist organisation apart from, and independent of, the existing body. It seemed, as if Mr. Hume was out to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by "a dismissed Government servant", Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and controlled by "Babus from Bengal". The student of Indian history is entitled to ask why a parallel body with an identical programme had to be brought into existence, even though the National Conference was going to hold an all-India Session at Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885—the same fateful week which saw the birth of the Congress at Bombay.

It is regrettable that not much contemporary evidence is available which might elucidate the inside story of the inception of the Congress. But, the scrappy details which may be gleaned

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from authoritative records give us some clues to the real motives of Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress and its first General Secretary. A study of this evidence serves to show that the Congress was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India. Mr. Hume and his friends were afraid that at a time when discontent was growing among the educated Indians through the activities of the Indian Association, the rapid progress of the Russians in Central Asia might give rise to obvious complications. The steady advance of the Russians inspired the European mind all over India with open alarm so much so that in the eighties of the last century a Russian attack on India was supposed to be imminent. These fears were aggravated by the fact that much of Russia's conduct seemed unfriendly from the time of Lord Northbrooke onwards. In February, 1875, even the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, warned the Governor-General, Northbrooke:

"I agree with you in thinking that an immediate Russian advance upon India is a chimera. But I am by no means sure that an attempt on their part to throw the Afghans upon us is so improbable".

It is well-known that it was the Russian intrigues in Kabul which upset the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, and finally led to the Second Afghan War. Lytton later admitted this in so many words:

"I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken to pieces the Empire of British India".

The notorious Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton was an avowed attempt to gag the Indian Press at a time when the safety of the Indian Empire was seriously threatened by the events in Central Asia. The Viceroy himself declared that the vernacular papers of Bengal had begun "to inculcate combination on the part of the native subjects for the purpose of putting an end to the British Raj". "Not content with misrepresenting the government and maligning the character of the ruling race in every possible way and on every possible occasion", he alleged, "these mischievous scribblers have of late been preaching open sedition". The

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Afghan War itself evoked no enthusiasm among the educated Indians, and, on the contrary, occasioned strong criticisms in the Indian press on the score of financial strain the War imposed upon India, for it was well-known that the war cost the Indian tax-payer £21,000,000. The Indians' dislike to an anti-Russian policy was thus becoming a matter of deep concern to the watchful Britishers who realised the need for building up a strong home front in India through some loyalist organisation. If, therefore, Mr. Hume decided to sponsor the Congress movement, the object is intelligible indeed.

That mere repressive measures such as those that had been introduced by Lord Lytton could not create a loyal public opinion in India was emphasised by that liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, through his radical reformist policy. Ripon referred to the grave implications of Indian discontent in these significant words:

"A movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government and specially despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still—and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course and prevent it from becoming a source of serious political danger".

Ripon was more explicit when he warned the Secretary of State in these words:

". . . . . as the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how can such intrigue be best met and defeated".

Ripon's words indicate that the official mind in India was on the look-out for some means whereby Indian agitation could be directed "into a right course" and the Russians prevented from fomenting intrigues in India. Bearing this in mind, one can readily infer why the Congress owed its birth to the initiative of Mr. Hume, and, what is still more interesting, to the secret encouragement of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The Viceroy, it appears, had stipulated that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress must not be made public. That is why

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the Viceroy's personal share in the scheme was not known for a long time. The matter received publicity for the first time in 1898 when the first President of the Congress, Mr. Bonnerji, pointedly referred to it in one of his published writings. There is a further corroboration of this matter in a published statement of Sir William Wedderburn, another ex-President. Thus, two Congress Presidents have borne testimony to the surprising fact that the Congress came into being at the instance of a British Viceroy. Evidently, the Congress was meant to be the long-awaited counter-poise to possible Russian intrigue in India. The growing indications of political discontent culminating in the country-wide propaganda started by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and his Indian Association, and also the Ilbert Bill episode which stirred up bitter racial feelings in India convinced Mr. Hume and Viceroys like Ripon and Dufferin that unless the Indian agitation was diverted to constitutional channels, there was the obvious danger that this might serve as a direct inducement to Russia in her ambitious designs. The potential conspirators and disloyalists could be prevented from becoming a tool of Russia, only if a pro-British Indian organisation was created with the support of Indian public opinion.

It is worthy of note that Sir William Wedderburn later explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion. According to him the Russian authorities in Central Asia depended for success in all their schemes for the invasion of India "on a hoped-for rising of the native population". In the course of his presidential address at the fifth session of the Congress held at Bombay in 1889, Sir William Wedderburn made a statement which has so far escaped the attention of historians. This statement reveals that in 1885 when the Congress was founded in all haste, the Russians were planning or at least pretending to plan an attack in the hope that the Indians might rebel against the British Government. Wedderburn suggested that the birth of the Congress discouraged the Russian designs. It may be pointed out that he mentioned this to emphasise the utility of the Congress.

"In 1885", he said, "they (Russians) appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence

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of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a patriotic cry calling on all to join with men and money and make a common cause against the common foe".

As was expected by the sponsors, the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda. A few instances of such propaganda may be cited here. The first President, Mr. Bonnerji, asserted in 1885 that there were "no more thoroughly loyal" well-wishers of the British Government than the Congress leaders. The second President, Mr. Naoroji warmly eulogised the character of British rule, and said in the course of his speech in 1886, "Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone (Cheers). The third President, Mr. Tyabji, went one step further and openly decried Russian designs on India. He warned the Congress session of 1887 that if India came under Russia, the people would have "nothing but a haughty and despotic government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organisation, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits". This remark was greeted with loud applause. The fourth President, Mr. Yule, likewise emphasised in 1888 the beneficent character of British rule and hoped for an enduring connection between "the two extreme branches of the Aryan race". The fifth President, Wedderburn, as has already been mentioned, went out of his way to preach pro-British and anti-Russian sentiments. He cautioned his audience in 1889 not to exchange "the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde". The sixth President Mr. Mehta, declared in 1890 :—

"I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilising principles of English culture and English civilisation".

Another President, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, declared with his usual oratorial flourish :

"I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. If they do come, they will find the multitudinous races and peoples of India united as one man ready to die for the Sovereign".

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Mr. Sankaran Nair, the President for 1897, dilated on the blessings of British rule, and warned his listeners that if British rule ever declined, there would be "anarchy, war and rapine". He added significantly, "And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities".

These presidential pronouncements would go to establish the fact that the Congress was originally intended to be a bulwark of British rule in India. The early leaders fulfilled this cherished expectation by making an ostentatious exhibition of their unswerving loyalty to the British sense of justice in unequivocal terms, and even boasted that they were not seditionists. They repeatedly proclaimed year after year that they aimed at making the bonds between England and India "a blessing to themselves and the whole world". Such flamboyant expressions of loyalty must have at times proved embarrassing to those for whom it was meant. It was clear, however, to all concerned that the Congress was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praises of Pax Britannica and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India.

Strange as it might seem, the old loyalist Congress worked up later to its own transformation, and, like the legendary Phoenix burnt itself into ashes in Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement whence to be re-born as the spearhead of India's freedom movement. The story of this transformation forms one of the most stirring chapters in Modern Indian History.

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Wellesley and the Conquest of Orissa

BY

DR. BHABANI CHARAN RAY, M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON)

Cornwallis failed to acquire Orissa through diplomacy. As soon as Wellesley became the Governor-General of India he revived the same old policy of entering into negotiations with the Raja of Nagpur to that end. On 16th April, 1800, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Secretary to the Government, wrote to Colebrooke, the Resident at Nagpur, that the Company desired the acquisition of Cuttack "for an equivalent in money or otherwise" and asked him to influence the Court of Nagpur to that effect.[1]

At the same time a proposal was brought before the Raja of Nagpur for the establishment of a British subsidiary force in his territories. The Resident was told that the Governor-General "would readily accept a security for the payment of the subsidy of the troops and even prefer to any other arrangement an assignment of such part of the province of Cuttack as should be adequate to the purpose, and should place under the management of the Company such a tract of the territory as should establish the continuity of their dominions from Bengal to Northern Circars".[2] But the negotiations proved a failure, partly because of the Raja of Nagpur's apprehension of losing his independence by maintaining a British force and party because of his resentment at the British alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad, a country which had so long been subject to Maratha plunder.[3] It now appeared to the Governor-General that nothing short of a war would give him an opportunity to fulfil his cherished desire.

On 27th June, 1803, the Governor-General wrote to Arthur Wellesley, "From the Raja of Berar I wish to acquire the whole

1. 16 April 1800, Government to Colebrooke, Y. M. Kale, (ed.), Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. V, p. 48.
2. *Ibid.*
3. T. E. Colebrooke, Life and Essays of H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. I, pp. 118-22.

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province of Cuttack so as to unite the Northern Circars by a continued line of sea coast with Bengal. This cession including Balasore, etc., to be made either absolutely or upon payment of a moderate rent or as a security for a subsidiary force to be introduced into the dominions of the Raja of Berar". He further instructed Arthur Wellesley that in the event of a war with the Raja of Berar this object could be easily achieved; he should not make peace with the Raja unless Orissa was secured.[4]

It may be remembered that on 31st December 1802, the treaty of Bassein was signed by the Peshwa and the British as a consequence of which the Peshwa was obliged to accept a subsidiary alliance. This was a cause for resentment amongst the Maratha chiefs, particularly Sindhia and Raghuji. Having collected an army at Ujjain, Sindhia crossed the Narmada; Raghuji approached Sindhia's camp at Chikhli and on 4th June there was a junction of the confederate forces but they avoided any open rupture with the British.[5]

On 18th July Arthur Wellesley demanded that Raghuji and Daulat Rao Sindhia should immediately retire from the Nizam's frontier near Ajanta. On 1st August, the Governor-General-in-Council reported to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors that he had made arrangements for the occupation of Cuttack,[6] explaining that "By the reduction of Cuttack in Orissa, an effectual blow would be struck against the Raja of Berar's resources; the only maritime territory of the Marathas on the eastern side of the peninsula of India, would be secured from all intercourse with the French, a valuable addition would be made to our revenue and a strong barrier added to the frontier of Bengal against predatory incursions; the intercourse between Bengal and the territories of Fort St. George would also be protected from interruption."[7]

War was declared against the Maratha confederates on 3rd August. Colonel Campbell of His Majesty's 74th regiment, com-

4. Bengal .... papers relative to the Maratha war in 1803, p. 165.
5. *Ibid*, p. 181.
6. 1 August 1803, Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, M. Martin, (ed.), the Despatches, minutes and correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, Vol. III, pp. 225-6.
7. Bengal .... papers relative to the Maratha war in 1803, p. 235.

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manding the northern division of the army of Fort St. George, had already been directed to prepare for an invasion of Cuttack.

On 21st August he was told to invade because it was thought that during the absence of the Raja of Berar from the centre of his dominions, the seizure of a place as celebrated as Jagannath would produce an early impression on the minds of the confederate chieftains.[8] W. Thorn rightly remarked, "the occupation of the maritime district of Cuttack formed a principal part of the general plan of attack against the confederates".[9]

The plan of invasion consisted in the movement and joint operation of forces from four different directions from Ganjam, Kedigree, Jaleswar and Midnapur.

First, the main force under Campbell consisting of about 1,500 native troops assembled at Ganjam. In addition, a detachment of two companies of His Majesty's 22nd regiment with artillery was detached from Bengal by sea. The British were so sure of success that they appointed John Melville, Civil Commissioner for the settlement of the revenue at Cuttack. Captain Blunt an engineer who had some local knowledge of the country, accompanied them.[10]

In view of the military equipment and arrangement directed against Cuttack, there was no fear of any successful resistance on the part of the Marathas, but the Governor-General wanted a peaceful surrender of the province. From the character of the Maratha administration it appeared probable that the Maratha officers might be induced to surrender the province in return for pensions or donations of money from the British Government. Letters were therefore addressed to Bungaji Pandit, under whose management lay ten-sixteenths of the province and Harbansa Ray who managed

8. 21 August 1803, Clive Governor of Madras to Campbell, Bengal Secret and Political consultations, 29 Dec. 1803, No. 161.

9. W. Thorn, Memoir of the War in India, p. 253. Sir William Thorn was born in 1781; joined the 29th Light Dragoons in India 1799; served in the Maratha war under Lord Lake 1803; at Laswari 1 November 1803; in the capture of Mauritious 1810 and of Java 1811 and Palambang in Sumatra 1812; returned to England 1814; one of his other works is "Memoir of the conquest of Java"; C. E. Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography, p. 423.

10. 3 August 1803, Govt. to Melville, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 1; Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 2-4 (same letter as above).

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the rest of the country;[11] both Campbell and Melville were authorised to open negotiations with them. Considering that a considerable portion of the province of Cuttack was occupied by chieftains, many of whom acknowledged no superior authority or were merely tributary to the Maratha State, they were instructed to negotiate engagements on similar terms with such chieftains as possessed the means of embarassing the progress of the British force.[12]

Campbell and Melville were instructed that they "should employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the temple of Jagannath and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and pilgrims".[13] To persuade the Brahmans at Puri that they could have confidence in placing the temple under British administration, a letter was obtained from Jagannath of Tribeni, the oldest and the most eminent of the Pandits in Bengal to Ram Chand and other Brahmans residing at Jagannath which recommended that "they need not be afraid to form connection with the British Government, which is distinguished for peculiar benevolence to its subjects". This letter was transmitted to Campbell to deliver to them at a suitable time.[14]

On 30th August, news having been received that Maratha reinforcements from Nagpur were expected, another detachment consisting of 500 Bengal native volunteers, commanded by Captain Dick, which had first been intended for the occupation of the port of Balasore, was sent with some additional battering guns to reinforce the main body of troops at Ganjam.[15]

11. 3 September 1803, Govt. to Melville and Campbell. Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 13-4; 7 September 1803, Govt. to Bungaji Pandit and Harbansa Ray, Bengal Secret Persian correspondence (trans.) Letters sent 1803, Nos. 123 and 124.

12. 3 September 1803, Govt. to Melville and Campbell, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 11.

13. 9 September 1803, Govt. to Melville and Harcourt, Add. MSS. 13608, p. 13.

14. Encl. 3 September 1803, Govt. to Melville and Campbell, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations 1 March 1804, No. 12A; Abstract of the contents of the letter from Jagannath of Triveni to priests at Jagannath, Bengal Secret Persian Correspondence (trans.), Letters Received 1803, No. 180.

15. 31 August 1803, Govt. to Campbell, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 51; 30 August 1803, Govt. to Harcourt, Add. MSS. 13608, p. 11.

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The reason why the main force was despatched from Ganjam was to enable it to reach Cuttack quickly, take the fort of Barabati, the chief Maratha stronghold and then to send a detachment to secure the Barmul Pass, which was called "the key or the western gate of Orissa", because it occupied a strategically defensible position through which the Maratha entered Orissa. It appeared that several advantages would be derived from the occupation of that important pass. First it would probably attract the attention of the Government of Berar and induce them to detach a force towards the pass in order to keep the British troops in check. This would diminish their means of opposition to any attack which might be directed by the British from Allahabad and Hyderabad. Secondly, it would establish the security of the province of Cuttack by closing it against predatory Maratha attacks from that quarter. Thirdly, it would enable the British to complete their arrangements for an invasion of Berar from the side of Cuttack and transport troops and equipment without difficulty to the western extremity of the pass.[16]

After collecting provisions, Campbell marched from Ganjam. But high fever endangered his life. He was therefore carried back to Ganjam and Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt of His Majesty's 12th regiment proceeded to Prayagi. There he took command of the troops on 11th September.[17] At this place he heard from a Brahman that "the Brahmins at the holy place consulted and applied to Jagannath to inform them what power was now to have this temple under his protection and that he had given a decided answer that the British Government was in future to be his guardian".[18] He utilised this as a divine message worth-communicating in his letters to numerous chiefs and zamindars, in order to encourage them to submit to the British authority.[19] Although

16. Add., MSS. 13608, pp. 151, 155-6, (a memorandum sent to Harcourt, no date or author).

17. 1 November 1804, Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, Bengal Military Letters Received, 11 August 1803, 24 January 1805, Vol. I, pp. 538-9; 11 September 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 55.

18. 11 September 1803, Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 13.

19. 19 September 1803, Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 14.

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no treaty had yet been made with the Marathas, Sayid Rahimuttullah, a Munshi acting on Melville's instruction, circulated report amongst the people of Cuttack that the Maratha chief had delivered up the country to the British in writing.[20]

On the other hand, the Maratha Government at Cuttack offered to all the tributary Rajas to relinquish a whole year's revenue if they would assist in preventing the British from obtaining the possession of the province. But there was no response.[21] The Marathas also made other defence arrangements. The Maratha chief at Balasore was appointed to the command of forces stationed at Guzurghat, Narasingpur, Ramachandrapur, Khathipur in Mayurbhanj and Phulwar Pass, which in all consisted of more than 1000 matchlockman, 100 horse and a number of Paiks.[22] It appears that he was in charge of guarding the northern frontier of Orissa from British attack. One detachment consisting of 3,000 cavalry and infantry under the command of Balaji Kunar crossed the Mahanadi and took post on the north bank. He occasionally circulated a report that he would invade Bengal. Another detachment was placed in the fort of Barabati in Cuttack. A third under the command of Dharam Rai Pandit was posted at Piplipur (Pipli) to oppose the British army from the south. 3000 Maratha troops were also reported to have left Cuttack with the intention of disputing the passage of Harcourt at Manikpatna.[23]

When Harcourt reached Mithakua on 13th September, the reported strength of the Marathas marching towards Manikpatna rose to 5,000 infantry. But when Harcourt fired a volley with blank cartridges the Maratha force intended to oppose his passage fled away. The British force took possession of Manikpatna on 14th September.[24] Fateh Muhammad the Maratha officer commanding the south-west frontier of Cuttack, agreed to the proposed

20. Encl. 24 September 1803, Lieutenant Col. Archibald Ferguson, Commanding a detachment on the bank of the Subarnarekha to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 191.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Add. MSS. 13609, pp. 43-5 (a report from Bhagaban Naik, Kotwal of the Company's factory at Balasore, no date).

23. Encl. 24 September 1803, Ferguson to Government, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 191.

24. 13 September 1803, Harcourt to Government, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 56.

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terms offered by Harcourt.[25] He sent his brother to the British camp. His brother accompanied the British force for some distance and helped them considerably by his local knowledge.[26]

By the time the British force reached Narasingpatna on 17th September, they faced some difficulty in transporting adequate stores and provisions by land. It had been thought that they might be carried by water to Cuttack. But now it was found that the boats had to be unloaded owing to the shallowness of the water. In view of these obstacles the idea of transporting anything further by water was abandoned.[27] Moreover four-fifths of the road through which the detachment would have to pass belonged to the Raja of Khurda. What was apprehended most was that the Raja might be in secret alliance with the Maratha Government.[28] Therefore, Harcourt discussed the matter with Melville. Melville suggested that the Raja should be requested to afford every assistance to the British to expedite the advance of the stores, baggage and artillery and send 3,000 fighting men to cooperate with them to expel the Marathas, for which he should be paid one lakh of rupees. This proposal was accepted by Harcourt. Accordingly, a letter was written to the Raja to that effect. As a result the Raja helped the British.[29]

From Narasingpatna Harcourt moved to Puri, passing through highly cultivated country. He took possession of the city on 18th September. A very conciliatory attitude was shown to the people here. A guard of Hindus was stationed in the temple of Jagannath. Measures were taken to give the Brahmans and the chief officers of the temple confidence in the British administration.[30]

Then Lieutenant Ogilvie commanding a detachment of 2nd battalion of the 17th regiment Madras native infantry was directed

25. 17 September 1804, Harcourt to M. Shawe, Private Secretary to Wellesley, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 68.

26. 19 September 1803, Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 14.

27. 3 October 1803, Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 17.

28. 5 November 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 28.

29. 3 Oct., 1803, Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 28.

30. 18 September 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 59.

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to take post at Manikpatna because it commanded the passage of a river and was the chief means of entrance into the province to the southwards; it was also important as commanding a convenient landing place. He was instructed to protect that part of the country from Maratha predatory raids and to forward with proper escorts such stores and treasures as might be sent from Ganjam for the troops under Harcourt.[31]

A force was placed under the command of Major Fletcher,[32] who was ordered to remain at Jagannath. He was directed to post sentries on the road to Cuttack as a precautionary measure against the Marathas. He was to keep a watch on what was passing to the southwards of the Pagoda.[33]

Some stores which Harcourt found it impracticable to carry with him were left at Jagannath. Then he proceeded in the direction of Ahmadpur, crossing the rising nalas and rivers with great difficulty.[34] The Marathas attempted to harass the British force on the way, but after a few skirmishes here and there they were driven off by the advanced guard under Captain Hutchinson of the 20th Bengal regiment. The Marathas lost twenty men. On the British side only three were wounded. The bad weather and the inundated state of the country together with the attack of the Maratha foraging party delayed the passage of the heavy guns and baggage for five days before Harcourt reached Birapurusottampur.[35] In view of these difficulties a force was detached under Hutchinson to occupy a position near Mukundapur. As soon as he left the camp he was confronted with serious opposition from the Maratha forces, both horse and infantry, on his flank. The charge of the Marathas was so vigorous that Hutchinson could save his position only by a heavy discharge of grape shot from six pounders. This dispersed the Marathas. On the British side 21 were wounded and two killed.[36]

31. 21 September 1803, Harcourt to Ogilvie, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 80.
32. Robert Fletcher, Captain, 17th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry.
33. 20 September 1803, Harcourt to Fletcher, Add. MSS. 13609, pp. 84-5.
34. 19 September 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 60.
35. 4 October 1805, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 100; 27 September 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 62.
36. 24 October 1803, Harcourt and Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 80.

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The next resistance to the British force was offered by the Marathas on 4th October when the advance guard under Colonel Clayton[37] was marching to Mukundapur. But well-directed fire from the British guns forced the Marathas to retreat towards Balakati. In this skirmish the British loss was one pioneer wounded.[38]

From Balakati the Marathas took shelter in the fort of Barabati, situated on the north of the island-like Cuttack and commanding to the northward the Mahanadi and the ferry.[39]

Soon after his arrival at Cuttack, Harcourt took possession of the fort of Lalbag, which was on the south side of the 'island' and covered the town which lay between it and the fort of Barabati. This fort also commanded occasionally the ferry and always the ford over the Kathjuri river which "bounds the Island to the Southward as the Mahannaddy does to the northward". Then he pitched camp 1,000 yards in front of the south face of Barabati from which the Marathas were very weakly firing at his camp.[40]

Harcourt in consultation with Melville was prepared to take the fort by negotiation by paying the garrison upto half a lakh of rupees. But he received no response from the Marathas. So arrangements were made to besiege the fort. All the boats on the Mahanadi were assembled and an officer was placed over them with instructions to prevent the Marathas from throwing supplies to the garrison.[41] A spot was fixed at a distance of 500 yards from the outer gate of the fort. A battery was completed on 13th October and a twelve pounder, two howitzers and two six pounders were placed in it. After a heavy fire the Maratha guns were silenced at 11 O'Clock in the forenoon, and most of the defences on the south face of the fort were taken off. Clayton had to pass over a narrow bridge with one six pounder and a party of artillery men. He ultimately succeeded in blowing up the

37. Thomas William Clayton, Lieutenant Colonel, 18th Bengal Native Infantry.

38. 24 October 1803, Harcourt and Melville to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 80.

39. 29 October 1803, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 162.

40. 11 October 1803, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 102.

41. 11 October 1803, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 102; 13 October 1803, Melville to Harcourt, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 123.

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wicket only after being exposed for forty minutes to a heavy and ill-directed fire of musketry from the Marathas inside the fort. No sooner was this work complete than a storming party entered singly with much boldness into the fort proceeding in two different directions although it had to face desperate resistance from the hands of the enemy in the defence of the inner gates. The Marathas fled leaving three elephants and 120 guns of different calibres behind in the fort.[42] While some of them were making efforts to escape they were drowned in the ditch.[43]

Meanwhile, Harcourt carried on negotiations with Shiva Prasad, a Hindu chief at the head of a corps of infantry, who were considered by the Marathas as amongst their best troops; he was ultimately successful in detaching him from the Marathas, and utilised his services in taking possession of the fort of Sarangagarh.[44]

Secondly it was decided to send a detachment to Balasore from Calcutta by sea. The object of sending this force was first to induce a Maratha force to be detached in that direction, which would facilitate the progress of the army under Harcourt to Cuttack, and secondly to open communications between Jaleswar and Balasore and between Balasore and Cuttack which would coordinate the actions of the British forces against the Marathas on both the north and the south of Balasore. For this purpose Captain Morgan of the 15th Bengal native infantry was appointed to the command of a force consisting of five companies of volunteers 500 men, one artillery officer, thirteen artillery men with guns, lashkars and artificers, and one assistant surgeon.[45] The Governor-General had been informed that a considerable number of Pathan adventurers from the British possessions were employed in the military service

42. 15 October 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 70; 27 October 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 90.

43. 15 October 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 70.

44. 27 September 1803, Harcourt to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 62.

45. 6 September 1803, Government to Morgan, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 209; 4 September 1803, Govt. to Morgan, Add. MSS. 13608, p. 96.

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of the Maratha Government at Cuttack. He wanted to induce them to desert[46]; with this in view, a Muhammadan Subahdar belonging to the bodyguard of the Governor-General was ordered to act under the orders of Captain Grant, who accompanied Morgan.[47] Morgan was instructed to use force should he fail to obtain possession of Balasore by amicable means. He was ordered to be cautious, not to interrupt such pilgrims passing to and from Jagannath. Considering the difficult navigation of the Balasore river Mathew Wright an experienced pilot was ordered to attend him.[48]

Morgan with the fleet[49] of transport left Kedegree on 14th September and reached the Nilgiri hills in the afternoon of the 17th at a distance of about sixteen miles from the bar of the river at Balasore. Because of adverse winds, he could not reach this place as early as he had expected.[50]

The bar at the entrace of the river had ordinarily only two feet of water at low tide and ten feet at high tide, and was considered unsafe for larger vessels without the assistance of the

46. 6 September 1803, Govt. to Morgan Add. MSS. 13608, p. 105.

47. 6 September 1803, Govt. to Morgan Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 209; 7 September 1803, Govt. to Morgan, Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 109-110.

48. 4 September 1803, Govt. to Morgan, Bengal and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 208; same letter as above, Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 97, 101.

The original idea for sending a force by sea to Balasore was explained by Harcourt to the Governor-General in Council and accepted on 19 August 1803. This expedition was considered to be most secret. During the preparations for it the letters from John Shore, Secretary, Marine Board, to Harcourt were sent without mentioning the name of the place; only a long line was drawn in the letters in place of Balasore. In one of his letters Harcourt wrote to the Military Secretary to the Governor-General "if you will be kind enough to call me at the Govt. House this morning (25 August) we will settle the whole business; you will, of course, not mention anything which will tend to the discovery of the destination of this little expedition (Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 27 October 1803, No. 59).

49. It consisted of *Alexander, George, Charles, Fairlie, Lizard, Anne* and two long boats (Letter, 4 October, Shore to E. Lowes, Commander of Company's Cruiser Feighmouth, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 27 October 1803.

50. 20 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 218; 22 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 219.

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local pilots who had some knowledge of the depth of the water.[51] So Wright on the morning of the 18th, went out to explore the bar and wished to obtain a native pilot if possible. He came as near as Balaramgarhi house, where there was a Maratha post of infantry. The Marathas suspected the identity of the party headed by Wright and they fired into their boat but without causing any injury. The party thus managed to return to their place of anchorage. Later on, with the help of Pike, the pilot from the *George*. Wright was successful in finding a channel for the transport. Leaving the two large vessels, *Alexander* and *Anne*, at anchor, other transports moved on the 19th. They all crossed the bar at a favourable flood tide, except one of them, the *Lizard*, which was deeply laden. Two of the six pounders and a number of the detachment from her were taken off and placed in one of the long boats. Then the party entered the Balasore river and anchored nearly opposite the Balaramghari House on the 20th.[52]

Some of the inhabitants of the villagers near the entrance of the river approached the vessels; they supplied native pilots. The fleet proceeded up the river but, owing to the darkness of the night and a very heavy fall of rain, they were forced to anchor for that day.[53]

The next day (21st morning) it was reported that a party of Marathas who had been posted at the ghats between the river and Jaleswar were making rapid marches either to defend the town of Balasore or to destroy it. At this Morgan and Grant left the transport behind. They took with them six pounders and as many fighting men as a few boats could hold, and went up the river for two hours till they reached a clear spot of ground, where they were informed that it was only four miles by land to Balasore. Here Morgan consulted Grant. Both agreed that the enemy should be attacked without waiting for the guns. Accordingly with nearly 300 rank and file they landed from the boats. Then after crossing

51. 19 August 1803, Shore to Harcourt, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 27 October 1803, No. 58.

52. 20 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 218; 22 September 1803; Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 219.

53. 20 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 218.

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over paddy fields innundated from one to three feet in water they halted at the town of Balasore.[54]

Meanwhile, the Marathas had put Moro Pandit, the faujdar of Balasore, into confinement in the Maratha fort outside the town because he had been attempting to go over to the British in consequence of their intrigue with him. Now, in order to resist the attack of the enemy, they advanced on a place where the ground was elevated and commanding. The inner space contained several spacious buildings well-adapted to the accommodation of troops, perfectly dry and sufficiently large to receive from 400 to 500 men.[55] This continuous long defile stretching from the entrance of the town upto the neighbourhood of the factory house was cleverly lined by the Maratha cavalry and infantry in order to oppose the march of the British into the town and the factory house.[56]

A British advance party was ordered to move on the Marathas. But they opened fire on it. So a flanking party was detached to assist the British advance in consequence of which, well-directed fire poured on the Marathas from both the parties, which drove them from their first positions; ten to twelve of them fell to the ground. Finding the British detachment moving forward the Marathas as a desperate last attempt poured fire on it from the entrance of the lanes, from the tops of the houses and from behind the walls and heights. Yet the detachment continued to proceed on its way and returned a spirited fire at intervals. Then it took possession of the factory house. Soon parties were posted in all directions outside it to ward off the Marathas. The Marathas sniped at the British for some time; they then moved towards the south. Grant tried to seduce a party of Pathan horse from the Maratha detachment but without success.[57]

After the Maratha departure a part of the outside of the town called the Maratha fort was brought under the British

54. 22 September, 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 219; Same letter as above, Calcutta Gazette, Thursday 3 November 1803, pp. 260-1 (I.O.C., Vol., Year 1803)

55. 23 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 220.

56. 22 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 219.

57. *Ibid.*

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possession. It was found that the Marathas had left there three old unserviceable guns on decayed carriages, one that appeared to be a six pounder, a small quantity of grain of different kinds and two chests with papers relating to the administration.[58]

Soon after occupying the town of Balasore, Morgan sent a detachment against a party of Marathas; but they evaded it. On 26th September, there was a rumour that a party of Marathas, hiding in some part of Balasore were determined to burn and plunder the town; further it was learnt that a large body of Marathas had been encamped at the village of Ramnath eight miles from Balasore.[59] In order to reassure public opinion Lieutenant Tanner,[60] at the head of a small detachment was ordered to proceed to that village. Before he reached the place the weather had cleared up; so a large body of Marathas who had been encamped there had left on the 26th and marched to a small fort called Deoghur in a jungle about seven miles from Bamanaghati. So Tanner with his men returned to Balasore.[61]

Meanwhile the dak to the south of Balasore was not able to pass Suranga. So to open communication between Balasore and Cuttack, two companies, under the command of Captain Slye[62] were sent in that direction;[63] Slye reached Haetierpur. He left it on 29th September; encamped at Begunia the next day, where he was informed that the Marathas had left the town and were encamped about two miles to the south. He marched on and gave the Marathas, consisting of 500 foot, a surprise attack on 1st October. After a short resistance the Marathas abandoned their position. Fifteen or twenty of them were killed or wounded. Five were taken prisoner.[64]

58. *Ibid.*

59. 27 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 224.

60. Henry Tanner, Captain, 24th Bengal Native Infantry.

61. 17 September 1803, Tanner to Morgan, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 225.

62. Charles Slye, Captain, 28th Bengal Native Infantry.

63. 28 September 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March, 1804, No. 226.

64. 30 September 1803, Slye to Morgan, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 228.

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By the time he reached Damnagar, he received news that between 2,000 and 3,000 Marathas had assembled at Suranga. The country there was covered with jungles and had a road generally no more than a narrow defile. With a small detachment he was not prepared to risk a fight. He wrote to Morgan for reinforcements;[65] in response to his letter, Ensign Scot, at the command of a company passing through Begunia, joined him;[66] the combined force now took possession of Suranga the Marathas left it and fled towards Bhadrakh.[67]

At Suranga one of the Sepoys belonging to the British detachment informed Slye that Maratha forces to the number of 2,000 horse and foot were collected at a place called Jajpur about fourteen coss towards the south and situated on the bank of a large nala which was there fordable. Slye desired some verification of this news. So he sent Chait Sing and Baku Sing, two sepoys of his detachment in the disguise of fakirs to Jaipur.[68] They returned with the news that the forces amounted to 500 well-mounted horse and 600 irregular foot. They also added that they heard from the Maratha camp that a force consisting of 10,000 men under Raghunath Bakhshi was on its way from Nagpur and within a few days' march from Cuttack. The Raja of Athgarh was proposing to send soldiers to assist the Marathas; some zamindars and rich people were in league with them to oppose the British.[69] But at the news of the advance of the British force under Harcourt from the south, the Marathas at Jajpur and on the north of the river Mahanadi fell back towards the river in the direction of the fort of Barabati. So Slye had no further encounter with the Marathas.[70]

65. *Ibid.*

66. 2 October 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 228.

67. 3 October 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 231.

68. 6 October 1803, Slye to Ferguson, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 198.

69. 9 October 1803, Slye to Ferguson, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 202.

70. 9 October 1803, Ferguson to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 199.

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Thirdly an attack was planned from Midnapur; so a force was ordered to be ready at Jaleswar under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ferguson.[71] Soon he was joined by a detachment from the Governor-General's body-guard, with guns, tumbrils, ammunition, draught, carriage, cattle and so on.[72] He was instructed to have correspondence with the Commanding officer at Cuttack, not to interrupt the pilgrims going to the temple of Jagannath, and to be very conciliatary to the inhabitants of Orissa when he passed the Maratha frontier. The object of sending this detachment was, first to drive-out the Marathas from the immediate frontier of Bengal and the country between Balasore and Jaleswar and secondly to remove all obstacles on the way from Jaleswar to Cuttack and to reinforce the main force under Harcourt.[73]

As soon as Ferguson received the intelligence of Morgan's possession of the town of Balasore, he moved in that direction to reach the place "within the shortest period of time". But owing to rain and bad weather his progress was hampered.[74] In consequence of the attack of the force under Morgan at Balasore the Marathas stationed at the ghats between Jaleswar and Balasore had fled.[75] So Ferguson without receiving any opposition from the Marathas arrived at Balasore. He left it on 10th October on his way to Cuttack. By the time he reached Suranga, he received the news of fall of the Barabati. His detachment finally reached Cuttack without opposition.[76]

Fourthly, a plan was made for an immediate occupation of the Maratha territory on the north-east of the Subarnarekha which chiefly consisted of Pataspur, Shahbandur, Kamarda, Bhograi, Rajichand and Kirchand because they were long desired by the British for a natural boundary between Bengal and Orissa. There-

71. Archibald Ferguson, Colonel, 24 Bengal Native Infantry.

72. 17 September 1803, Ferguson to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 177.

73. 5 September, 1803, Govt. to Ferguson Add. MSS. 13608, No. 87, 90-2.

74. 28 September 1803, Ferguson to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 195.

75. 26 September 1803, Grant to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 195.

76. 7 December 1803, Morgan to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 149.

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fore Colonel Fenwick[77] commanding at Midnapur was directed to take measures for that purpose.[78]

It was apprehended that the Marathas with the help of the powerful zamindars on the border might make incursions into the Company's territory. Therefore Fenwick was instructed to encourage the zamindars on the frontier to oppose such an attack; similar instructions were also given to T. H. Ernst, the acting Magistrate at Midnapur.[79] Sumitra Dei, the Rani of Mayurbhanj, had lands both in Maratha and in the Company's territories. As a Company's tenant she was in arrears to the extent of Rs. 1600 owing to losses she had sustained from inundations during the last two years. Now the payment of these arrears was suspended by the order of the Governor-General.[80] Similar friendly intercourse was maintained with Jagannath Dhall of Dholbhum and other zamindars.[81] Ernst, by a proclamation, offered the protection of the Company to such of the zamindars as might choose to become its subjects.[82] Accordingly most of the zamindars in the Maratha territories either sought this protection or showed a more submissive attitude. But Ramanand Bhuyan of Jammukonda who had for some years created disturbances in Company's land remained adamant. Raghunath Paikara Bhuyan another zamindar of Kirchand who on many previous occasions had plundered the British territory was also not ready to listen to the British proclamation. Rather he preferred to be secure in his fort, which was said by Ernst to be "the strongest on the southern frontier".[83]

77. John Fenwick, Colonel, 5th Bengal Native Infantry.

78. 16 July 1803, Government to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 29 December, 1803, No. 18C; 5 September, 1803, Government to Fenwick, Add. MSS. 13608, pp. 82-3.

79. 8 September 1803, Ernst to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November 1803, No. 118; 17 September 1803, Govt. to Ernst, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November 1803, No. 19.

80. 16 July, 1803, Govt. to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 29 December 1803, No. 18 C.

81. 17 September 1803, Govt. to Board of Revenue, Bengal Secret Political Consultations 12 November 1803, No. 120; 8 September 1803, Ernst to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November 1803, No. 118.

82. 17 September 1803, Govt. to Ernst, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November 1803, No. 119; 28 September 1803, Govt. to Ernst, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November, 1803, No. 123.

83. 8 September 1803, Ernst to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 12 November 1803, No. 118.

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On 23rd September, 1803, by order of Fenwick, Captain Lamb of the 5th regiment, at the head of a detachment proceeded to the Parganas Pataspur, Kamarda, Shahbandar and Bhograi, to establish the police daroghas and tahshildars appointed by Ernst.[84] Being frightened at the approach of the British force, Ramanand Bhuyan surrendered to Lamb; who made him prisoner and sent him to Midnapur. His forts were destroyed.[85]

Another detachment under Lieutenant Cooper, was sent against Raghunath Paikara. All that belonged to him on both sides of the Subarnarekha was soon occupied. The bamboo fences surrounding the forts were burnt. The mud forts were at once delivered up. But Raghunath Paikara managed to retire with a few attendants into the thickest part of the jungle.[86]

The whole of the Maratha territories on the north-east of the Subarnarekha was soon brought under British rule.

Thus the total number of troops employed for the conquest of Orissa amounted to 4,916 men. Out of this number some 3,041 constituted the main force which marched from Ganjam and 500 men under Dick reinforced the main force later; 52 including 21 artillery men formed a party under Morgan to occupy Balasore; 854 were ready at Jaleswar with a view to move whenever it would be necessary; 1,300 were stationed at Midnapur in order to render assistance to troops at Balasore and Jaleswar.[87]

In consequence of the attack and march of the British troops from different sides whatever Marathas were found in the country fled away in fear. After the fall of the fort of Barabati, a party of the Marathas under Balaji Kunar, consisting of 200 horse and 300 foot, retreated towards Barmul Pass,[88] Major Forbes, at the

84. 24 September 1803, Fenwick to Govt. to Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 144.

85. 4 November 1803, Ernst to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 29 December 1803, No. 41; 17 November 1803, Govt. to Ernst, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations. 29 December, 1803, No. 42.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Bengal ..... Papers relative to the Maratha war in 1803, p. 244.

88. Encl. 24 March 1804, M.S. Elphinstone, Resident at Nagpur to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 21 June 1804, No. 53.

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head of a detachment was sent to chase them,[89] but they evaded him. He occupied the Barmul pass, and the entrance of the Marathas to Cuttack was closed. Now a commanding position was available to him to watch the behaviour of the hill Rajas in the vicinity. As this station was unhealthy it was arranged that the garrison of 500 men would be relieved from Cuttack every fortnight.[90]

After securing possession of the country, the British stationed troops near the passes and at different strategic places to maintain order and prevent Maratha raids from any direction. First, a force consisting of 1,000 men exclusive of the Europeans was stationed on the island of Cuttack of which 300 formed the garrison for Lalbag, to be relieved weekly from the principal strength in Barabati. Secondly, the post established at Manikpatna was reinforced. Thirdly it was arranged to maintain a regular force at Jagannath. Fourthly, a force of 300 men with a field six-pounder was placed at Pipli. Fifthly, the post established at Suranga was strengthened, a force of 300 to 400 men was stationed at Jaipur and Bhadrakh. Sixthly a post nearly of the same strength was established at Balasore. Seventhly, a strong detachment was stationed at Kendrapara, which commanded the most important points towards the sea, in order to check the Raja of Kujang and some subordinate chiefs in that part of the country.[91]

After completing these security measures, Harcourt posted the 9th Madras Native Infantry in the fort of Barabati. This consisted of about 450 men. Shiva Prasad's irregular corps gave him 100 more. To it he wished to add 400 or 500 Europeans, 140 troopers with gallopers, four six-pounders and two howitzers. With a force thus formed, he planned to proceed direct to Sonpur. From that place he wished to march along the Sambalpur route to secure the possession of Rattanpur and the valuable district of Chhatisgarh, because he thought their acquisition would afford security to the

89. 18 October 1803, Harcourt to Forbes, Resident at Nagpur to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 87.

90. 21 October 1803, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, p. 137.

91. 3 December 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 244; 7 December 1803, Morgan to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1803, No. 249; 29 October 1803; Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, pp. 162-70.

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whole of the possessions of the British Government from Benares to Ganjam. In fact this was not done because peace was established shortly afterwards.[92]

On 30th November, 1803, Jaswanta Rao Ramachandar, an ambassador of the Raja of Berar met Arthur Wellesley at a conference at Deogan for the conclusion of a peace. In the course of discussions of various points Arthur Wellesley said that he would require the province of Cuttack to be connected by a convenient frontier with the Company's other territories. The Vakil made no objection except to the point that "Jagannath was his (Raja's) own pagoda, he was desirous to retain it, that his honour was involved in this point". Arthur Wellesley replied that the whole province of Cuttack was absolutely necessary, that the Company had long been desirous to obtain this province in order that there might not be any break in communications between Calcutta and Madras and to take only half of it, or to allow the Raja to take half of it, would entirely defeat that great object.[93] The Vakil was now convinced on this point. The treaties were prepared during the night of 16th November, 1803. They were signed on 17th by both Arthur Wellesley and Jaswant Rao Ramachandar. The British occupation of Orissa was confirmed.[94]

92. 1 December, 1803, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13609, pp. 217-8.
93. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 623, pp. 86, 103.
94. *Ibid*, p. 111; proclamation, 9 January 1804, Bengal Secret Persian Correspondence (trans.) Letters Sent, 1804, No. 1.

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Origin and Growth of Communal Tension in India

BY

TARAPRASANNA GHATAK

Calcutta

A close study of the history of India will show that our country had no occasion to suffer from any serious ailment—either communal or religious—in the past, during the long period of Muslim rule in India. Though nobody disputes the fact that some Muslim rulers had shown terrific fanatical zeal at times, yet, when judged from the larger point of view, it must be admitted that the Muslim conquerors, on the whole, adopted an attitude of toleration towards the Hindus and other communities. History fails to give even a single authentic instance when communal groups of Hindus, Muslims or Depressed classes in mass had been set against one another. Even as late as two hundred years ago, two generals fought gallantly for Nawab Serajuddaula. One was Mohanlal, a Hindu and the other was Mir Madan, a Muslim, owing allegiance to the same Nawab. Periodical reports used to be sent to the British Parliament from the year 1765—when the East India Company was given the right to collect revenues—right up to 1858 when the Company had to relinquish its control over India. If one is to cast a glance over the pages of these reports, one will fail to find any mention of organised disturbances either between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes or between the Hindus and the Muslims. We do not get any report of even a single incident of communal nature during the great Indian Revolt of 1857 known as the Sepoy Mutiny. What, then, was the basic cause of the communal tension in our country of which the present generation had the misfortune of seeing so much. A study of the growth of this poisonous tree of communalism in this land of Mahabir and Buddha, Asoka and Akbar will be both interesting and instructive.

To have a dispassionate view of the growth of communal tension in India, we are to study the activities of the East India Company and His Majesty's Government in relation to the two

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major communities of India—the Hindus and the Muslims. In the declining days of the Mughal Empire, the East India Company tried to establish their sway over as many parts of India as possible and over the whole of India, if and when possible. To achieve this end, they did not fail to take the fullest advantage of the mutual strifes and bickerings among the independent native rulers in different parts of the country. Good 'banyas' as they were, they realised the obvious fact that in the market of India, it is vigilance and caution, rather than money, that would buy them a rich empire. They were always on the look-out lest the Indians should combine against the British. It was one of the chief aims of the Company to set one native ruler against another and so on. It was in pursuance of this aim that they set the Nizam against Arcot and Arcot against the Nizam, the Nizam against the Mahrattas and the Mahrattas against Tipu. It will not be wrong to maintain that it is on the basis of the rift thus created among the Indians that the Company founded and stabilized the British rule in this country. "Divide and Rule" was as effective a British policy in those days as it was in the days of Churchill, Amery and Linlithgow. And it will not be far from truth if it is contended that the history of communalism in India dates back to these black days of the East India Company. It is now an open secret that this mischievous British policy of instigating one prince against another at first and then one community against the other was the main cause, if not the sole cause, of rising communal unrest in India and it is equally true that this policy was initiated by the East India Company.

The Mutiny came in 1857. The Indians, Hindus as well as Muslims, rose in revolt against the British. Here it is not necessary to go into the details of this revolt. The causes of this Mutiny may be briefly and conveniently summed up by quoting the words of Dr. K. K. Dutta who writes, "The rapid expansion of the British dominion in India, attended as it was by the changes in the administrative system and modes of existence to which the people had been accustomed through long ages, disturbed the placid currents of Indian life and produced commotions in different parts of the country". It has already been stated that the two principal communities of India took equally active part in this great revolt and both suffered heavily and equally. The dissolution of the East India Company took place in 1858 and subsequently, the

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Government of India was transferred to the British Crown. The assumption of the Government of India by the Sovereign of Great Britain was not accompanied by any remarkable change in the British policy towards the major communities of India excepting that their campaign of reprisal towards the Mussalmans, whom they thought to be their real enemies, was intensified many times. That the British policy underwent no notable change after the Mutiny of 1857 is evident from the writings of Lord Elphinstone who wrote in 1859, " 'Divide et Impera' is the old Roman motto and it should be ours". We can have a very clear idea of the British attitude towards the Hindu-Muslim question from an eloquent passage by Rai Bahadur Bejoy Behari Mukherji which runs as follows: "The widespread insurrection which was deliberately misnamed the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857 ..... led to ruthless atrocities on either side. .... In that mutiny Hindus and Muslims had joined forces without stint and declared Bahadur Shah—the descendant of the emperors of Delhi—as Emperor. The dangers of Hindu-Muslim unity to British rule was brought home to a section of ruling group. A new psychology took hold of the British rulers. That psychology had two aspects. The one showed up the unity of the people of India as a danger to the existence of British rule in India and the consequent urgent necessity of creating schisms while the other, in which the spirit of vengeance and reprisal dominated, reacted by denying to Indians as a class all chances of growth and strength".

The mutiny of 1857 revealed to the British Government that the Muslims were their chief enemy in India. This led them to purge indiscriminately the civil and military services of Mussalman officers, despite the fact that the Queen's Proclamation stated unequivocally that all, "of whatever race, creed or community, may be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service". The European inhabitants of Calcutta went to the length of submitting a petition to the authorities in England demanding the recall of Lord Canning only because the latter failed to support the anti-Muslim cry raised by the European community of India after the Sepoy Mutiny. The British Government also realised that one of the main causes of the Mutiny was the wonderful unity among its armed forces. In the words of Sir John Lawrence, "among the defects of the pre-mutiny army, unquestionably the worst, and one that operated most fatally against us, was the

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brotherhood and homogeneity of the Army ... " Now they re-organised their armed forces on the basis of communal and caste distinctions.

Here it should be borne in mind that though the hostile attitude of the ruling race against the Mussalmans rendered it impossible for them to continue in Government services, their utter lack of English education was also a very important factor working against their obtaining any Government employment. The Mussalmans realised this and it is then that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came into the picture. Sir Syed was one who firmly believed that the Hindus and the Muslims constituted one nation which he called the Hindu Nation, both the communities being inhabitants of Hindusthan. He himself wrote: "The word 'nation' or 'qaum' applies to people who inhabit a country . . . Remember that Hindu and Mussalman are religious words; otherwise, Hindus, Mussalmans and even Christians who inhabit this country — all constitute, on this account, one nation. When all these groups are one nation, then whatever benefits the country, which is the country of all of them, should benefit all . . . . . Now the time is gone when only on account of differences in religion the inhabitants of a country should be regarded as of two different nations. Just as the Aryan people are called Hindus, even so are also Mussalmans Hindus, that is to say, inhabitants of Hindusthan". Sir Syed was an ardent admirer of the English education and it is with a view to spreading it among the Mussalmans that he founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. The English Principals who were appointed in this college successfully converted a staunch nationalist like Sir Syed Ahmad into a communalist. And every careful student of India's communal politics will be at one with Dr. Rajendra Prasad when he says that the history of Muslim politics of the following 15 or 20 years is a history of the activities of these shrewd Englishmen who managed to create the gulf which, with some interruptions, has gone on widening ever since.

As has been stated above, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a staunch nationalist believing in the inherent and essential unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. Now, one Mr. Beck became the Principal of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1883. He came to Aligarh with the sole intention of making the Muslim

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youths a very strong and effective instrument in the hands of the British Government for counteracting the swelling tide of nationalism, whose torch-bearers were mostly Hindus. He exerted his mesmeric influence over the mind of Sir Syed Ahmad and successfully converted him to communalism. His sordid efforts to dissociate the Muslims from the great national organisation, the Indian National Congress, add a few black pages to the history of our national movement. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan used to edit a paper called the Institute Gazette. On his arrival at Aligarh, Mr. Beck took in his hands the editorial control of that paper though the name of Sir Syed continued to be published as the editor of the journal. It may be noted here that Sir Syed Ahmad was a great admirer of the Bengalis whom he called the standard-bearers in the national movement of India. In order to embitter Sir Syed's feelings towards the Bengalis, Mr. Beck began writing editorials in the Indian Gazette criticising the Bengalis. The latter thought that the articles were written by Sir Syed himself and therefore, naturally, they began to blame Sir Syed. Thus Mr. Beck succeeded in creating strained relations between the Bengalis and Sir Syed Ahmad. It was at this juncture that the first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in December 1885 under the presidentship of a distinguished Bengali, W. C. Bannerji. This explains why Sir Syed did not join the Congress and this also shows up Mr. Beck as a diplomat of the first water. Sir Syed was so much under the influence of Mr. Beck and other English professors that he actually began to think that it would be against the best interests of the Mussalmans to join the Congress. In 1888, an organisation of the Hindus and Mussalmans called the United Indian Patriotic Association was established at Aligarh under the guidance of Mr. Beck. It is interesting to read the objects of this organisation which were: (1) to inform the members of Parliament and the people of England through newspapers and tracts that all the communities of India, the aristocracy and the Princes were not with the Congress and contradict its statements; (2) to keep the Parliament and the people of England informed about the opinions of Hindu and Muslim organisations which were opposed to the Congress; and (3) to help in the maintenance of law and order and the strengthening of the British rule in India and to wean away people from the Congress. After five years of its existence, this organisation was dissolved and a new organisation, exclusively for the Muslims, under

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the grandiloquent name of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India was started with almost the same objects as those of the former one. It should be remembered that the previous organisation was open both to the Hindus and the Muslims but now Mr. Beck thought that even in the work of strengthening the British rule, joint action by the Hindus and the Muslims was not desirable.

At this time, the British Government was intending to push on its forward policy on the Frontier and for this purpose, they wanted to augment the military expenditure which was vehemently opposed by the Congress. But, surprisingly enough, the newly-formed Mohammedan Defence Association which was a purely Muslim organisation wanted the Government to increase the military expenditure for this very purpose.

Thus Mr. Beck and other British members of the teaching staff of the Aligarh College were singularly successful in misguiding and misleading the larger section of the Indian Muslims. But it must be admitted at the same time that good sense prevailed among some of the most distinguished Muslim leaders of the time like Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, Mr. Ali Mohammad Bhimji and Mr. Rahamtullah Savani and they joined the national movement which found its expression in the Indian National Congress.

As a bolt from the blue, Lord Curzon's scheme for the partition of Bengal came in 1903 by which the shrewd Viceroy wanted to cut out Chittagong and Dacca divisions and tack them to the neighbouring province of Assam. This incensed Bengal and, later, the whole of India. The motive behind this move of Lord Curzon is best illustrated in the following words of Sir Henry Cotton: "The object of the measure was to shatter the unity and to disintegrate the feelings of solidarity which are established in the Province. It was no adminstrative reason that lay at the root of this scheme. It was a part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing powers and to destroy the political tendencies of a patriotic spirit." Commenting upon this scheme of Lord Curzon, the Statesman wrote in its editorial, "This move was designed to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of Mohammadan power, which, it is hoped, will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the Hindu community". This move

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shows how the British Government took an active interest in making Bengal a hotbed of communalism which in those days was the centre and source of nationalism in the whole country.

In order to check the rising tide of nationalism, to prevent the Muslims from joining the movement started by the Congress and above all, to create a rift between the Mussalmans and other communities of India, the British Government induced the Muslims to demand separate political rights. As a result of this, a deputation of Muslims under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan waited on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, on October 1, 1906. The deputation presented a memorandum, drafted by Mr. Archbold, the then Principal of Aligarh College, to the Viceroy in which, inter alia, thanks were offered to the British authorities for "the steps that were going to be taken, in accordance with the settled policy of the Government, in the direction of self-government," but at the same time, apprehension was expressed that by introducing election injury would be done to the Mussalman minority, and the hope was expressed that in introducing the system of nomination or granting representation on religious basis, the opinion of Mussalmans would be given due weight. The Viceroy gave a reply, couched in honeyed language, assuring the deputationists that nothing would be done that might affect the Muslims adversely. The meeting of this deputation is, indeed, a landmark in the inglorious history of India's communal question, for it is then that the poisonous seed of the much-hated separate electorate was shown in India. The British Government considered it a first-class diplomatic achievement. An important British official wrote to Lady Minto in the following manner which reflects the great joy that the authorities felt at that time, "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition". The British Press in England highly commended the 'wisdom' of the Indian Muslims. The British papers were flooded with articles by important personages of England paying tributes to the so-called far-sightedness shown by the Mussalmans. "It appears from these articles", as Maulavi Tufail Ahmad rightly remarks, "how the English Press looked upon Indians being one nation with a sense of shock and heart-burning and how pleased they were to see it

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broken into pieces and how proud they felt in setting the Indians against one another on the basis of religion and of creating lasting hostility between them."

In the wake of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy, the All-India Muslim League was founded on the 9th November, 1906. It is a significant coincidence that another all-India organisation of a communal nature, the Hindu Mahasabha, was set up in the same year. Though communal in composition and outlook, the Muslim League, indignant at the tactics followed by the British Government in Turkey during the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, became a strong supporter of the Indian National Congress so much so that prominent Congress leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahatma Gandhi attended the sessions of the Muslim League and once even participated in its proceedings. During the Lucknow sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 which were held simultaneously, an agreement was arrived at between the Congress and the League by which the former accepted separate electorates for the Muslims and allowed them representation much in excess of their population in the Provinces. This agreement was the famous Lucknow Pact. Mr. Mahommad Ali Jinnah, from the League side, put his signature on the pact while from the Congress side, all the top-ranking leaders approved of it. It is difficult to say how far the Congress was guided by the lofty ideals of nationalism in entering into this agreement.

The Great War ended in 1918 in favour of Britain and her allies. The Khilafat movement was started by the Mussalmans of India against the British Government in support of the Khalifa of Turkey which was a defeated nation. Under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, the Hindus wholeheartedly supported the Khilafat movement. At this time, agitation against the Rowlatt Bills was also going on in full swing which found its dreadful culmination in the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre of 1919. It should be noted here that a large number of the victims of this ghastly tragedy were Muslims. The Khilafat movement and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre brought about a wonderful unity of action between the Hindus and the Muslims in general and the Congress and the Muslim organisations in particular. The Khilafat days have added a glorious chapter to the annals of Hindu-Muslim unity in our country. The sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League

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were being held at the same place and time for some years. The most distinguished Muslim leaders of the country like Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari and the Ali Brothers began to preside over the sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League.

But this unity was not destined to last long. The Congress, in its annual session at Nagpur in 1920, passed a resolution in favour of non-violent non-co-operation with the British Government. This was not in conformity with the desires of the aristocratic leaders of the Muslim League. In the following year, that is, in 1921, the Muslim League, in its Ahmadabad session, decided that it was not possible for the League to lend its support to the non-co-operation programme adopted by the Congress, Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Khilafat Committee. Analysing the causes that led the Muslim League to take this decision, Maulana Shibli writes, "The first foundation-stone of the League was the Simla deputation and whatever constitution may be given to it in the future, the spirit of the Simla deputation will continue in it. The first brick of the foundation of the League was wrongly laid, and whatever structure is raised on such a foundation is bound to fall out of the line. The politics of the League is only this—whatever rights and places are won by the Hindus, the share of the Mussalmans in them must be fixed. This is not real politics. Real politics is concerned with the demand of the people as against the Government . . . . . On account of the lack of this strength a member of the Muslim League cannot be prepared to suffer any injury and does not find in himself any high determination or courage." This is the most correct analysis of the psychology of the League leaders. They were obsessed with the idea that any step against the British Government would be suicidal for the League and the Mussalmans.

The cold-blooded murder of Swami Shraddhanand in 1926 gave a fresh impetus to the settlement efforts of the communal question. The Congress and the Khilafat Committee contested the elections held in the year 1923 with a view to opposing the Government through the Legislatures. The Muslim members of the Central Legislature joined the Congress members in opposing the Treasury bills. Thus, though a good deal of communal tension existed outside in the country, a considerable amount of mutual understanding prevailed between the Hindu and Muslim members in the Central Legislature.

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In March 1927, some Muslim leaders met in a conference in Delhi and jointly put forward the famous Muslim Proposals by which they consented to accept joint electorates for provincial and central Legislatures provided (i) Sindh was given the status of a separate province, (ii) N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan were treated on the same footing as the other provinces, (iii) the proportion of Muslim representation was in accordance with their population and (iv) in the Central Legislature, it was not less than one-third of the total.

These proposals, with some slight modifications, were substantially accepted by the Congress and a section of the League led by Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Though another wing of the League under the guidance of Sir Mian Mahammed Shafi virtually rejected the proposals, it appeared that a solution of India's communial problem was in the offing.

But that was not to be. The infamous Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 with no Indian member on it. The Indian political parties took it as an affront and almost unanimously decided to boycott the commission.

In the following year, the Nehru Committee's report was published which apprised the nation of the outlines of a future constitution of India as envisaged by the Committee. Unfortunately, Mr. Jinnah, the League leader, could not find it possible to agree to all the points in the report. The amendments suggested by him were not acceptable to the nationalist elements in the country.

The Congress declared in December 1928 that if the British Government did not accept the Nehru Report which demanded Dominion Status for India by the end of 1929, the Congress would insist on full independence or "Purna Swaraj". The British authorities gave no reply to the Congress demand. The First Round Table Conference was held in 1930, attended by Muslim and States representatives but no Congress leader attended it. This conference held that separate electorates were best suited for India.

The Second Round Table Conference was held in the following year, attended by Gandhiji as the sole representative of the Congress. This Conference ended in a fiasco. It failed to evolve a magic formula for eliminating communal evil from India's body politic.

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Then came the Communal Award of 1932 imposing the curse of separate electorates on India. This award entitled Mohammedans, Europeans and the Sikhs to elect their representatives through separate communal electorates. Seats were reserved for the Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Zamindars and women. Special seats were given to labour, commerce and industry, mining and planting, to be filled by the Chambers of Commerce. Divisions were made on the basis of religion, occupation and service. This was, no doubt, a very serious blow to Indian Nationalism. And it is equally true that this was a great triumph of the British Government's 'divide and rule' policy in India. The Communal Award of 1932 laid the foundation on which the vast edifice of 'the largest Muslim State' and 'the fifth biggest sovereign State of the world' has been built in 1947. While disclosing the provisions of the Award, the Secretary of State for India announced that if, before the new Government of India Act was passed, the various Indian communities could reach a general settlement of their own which differed from his, he would willingly accept it.

Even after the introduction of this Award, an effort was made to settle the communal question in India. An All-Parties Conference, in which such eminent leaders as Maulana Shaukat Ali and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took part, had almost brought about a settlement when, quite unexpectedly, the British Government stepped in and torpedoed the whole thing. In a spirit of give-and-take, the All-Parties Conference came to a gentleman's agreement with the Mussalmans that the latter would have 32 % of seats in the Central Legislature. But the British Government could not entertain even the faintest idea of an agreement between the different communities of India because that would amount to nullification of the whole Communal Award which they had prepared so assiduously. The British authorities, with a view to winning over the Muslims to their side, issued a statement allotting 33½ % of British Indian seats to the Mussalmans, thus reducing to dust the herculean efforts of the All-parties Conference to reach an agreement. Commenting on this, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has remarked, "It was not to be expected that any agreement could be reached between all parties when it was clear that some group or other could always be found to object to any agreement, however just, and when the British Government was prepared to offer better terms than any that an agreed settlement could secure for a group willing to accept the highest bid."

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The Government of India Act was, however, passed in June 1935 under which elections were held in 1936-37. Both the Congress and the Muslim League participated in the elections.

In July 1937, the Congress formed ministries in those provinces where it gained a clear majority. It was not possible to include League members in the Congress Ministries because they were not prepared to accept the Congress policy and programme. In March 1938, the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution voicing its vehement protest against "the deliberate policy of tyranny and oppression that the Congress Ministries were pursuing towards the Muslim minority." It appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Raja of Pirpur to collect information about the alleged tyranny of the Congress Governments. Even after making sufficient allowance for exaggeration, it must be maintained that the Pirpur Report was mischievously drafted with the sole intention of discrediting the Congress organisation. When the then Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, requested Mr. Jinnah to get the complaints investigated by an impartial authority like Sir Maurice Gwyer, the League leader refused to accept the suggestion. This at once proved the hollowness of the charges made by the League. It may be noted here that when the Congress Ministries resigned in September 1939, the Muslim League expressed its sense of joy and relief by observing a 'Day of Deliverance' and holding thanks-giving services.

From May 1938 right upto August 1946, the Congress made repeated but fruitless attempts to come to a just and amicable settlement with the Muslim League. The national leaders including Mahatma Gandhi had gone to woo Mr. Jinnah but the latter had remained adamant. In 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose, the then Congress President, tried to elicit from the League an idea of what would satisfy it but failed to get any explicit reply. In all negotiations with the Congress, Mr. Jinnah had insisted that the League must be recognised as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims and that the Congress should speak on behalf of the Hindus only. It was not possible to accept these demands. It was not possible to forget that there were many other Muslim organisations in the country which recognised no such right of the League. To use the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, 'the Conress could not concede that it was a Hindu organisation—that would be denying its own past, falsifying its history and betraying its future.'

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In 1940, the Muslim League passed its famous Pakistan resolution in Lahore clearly stating that the areas in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute a separate, independent State.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India and in his declaration conceded, among other things, the right of secession to any province of British India from the All-India Union and thereby practically accepted the League demand for the creation of a Muslim State, independent of the Indian Union.

The Cripps Mission, however, failed and the Congress passed the momentous 'Quit India' resolution. Then followed the historic 'August Revolution', the last in the series of Gandhian movements for national independence. The Quad-e-Azam issued a statement from his luxurious Malabar Hill marble palace, calling upon the Mussalmans to abstain from any participation in the movement because "it was started with the sole purpose of forcing the Muslims to submit and surrender to the Congress bully."

In September 1944, Gandhiji once again knocked at the door of Mr. Jinnah to find a way out of the communal labyrinth but no agreement could be found.

The Simla Conference took place in the middle of 1945 to end India's political deadlock on the basis of the Wavell proposals. The conference ended in a fiasco due, largely, to Mr. Jinnah's intransigence. He insisted that all the Muslim members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be nominated by him. This was more than what the Congress could accept.

In the meantime, the Labour Party came in power in U. K. Lord Wavell went to London for fresh consultations with the British Government. On his return, he declared that His Majesty's Government was determined to go ahead with the hope of bringing India to self-government speedily. It was announced in the House of Commons early in 1946 that a special mission of Cabinet Ministers would go out to India to see how best India's constitutional problem could be solved. By this time, a notable change was perceptible in the British policy regarding India. Prime Minister Attlee declared unequivocally in the British Parliament, "We cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority".

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In the following March, the Cabinet Mission came out to India. After three-and a half months' busy negotiations with Indian leaders, they announced their plan on May 16, 1946. The Muslim League accepted it, the Sikhs rejected while the Princes announced their provisional acceptance of the plan. The Congress announced their acceptance of the long-term part of the plan but could not agree to participate in the proposed Interim Government. Meanwhile, the Muslim League changed its mind, withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals and decided upon the infamous policy of "direct action" which led to the outbreak of unparalleled mob violence in Calcutta on August 16, 1946 known as the "Great Calcutta Killing."

In the meantime, the Viceroy invited Pandit Nehru as the president of the major political party in India to form an interim Government at the Centre. Panditji, on receiving the invitation, rushed to Bombay and met Mr. Jinnah to see if the League could join the Government. But nothing came out of this meeting. Pandit Nehru formed an interim Cabinet at the Centre. The Muslim League, however, entered the Government after a month.

While the leaders were demonstrating these political acrobatics in New Delhi, very serious disorders broke out in Noakhali and Tippera districts of East Bengal, followed by grave communal riotings in Bihar, the Punjab and N.W.F.P. It is hardly necessary to insert a detailed discussion here of these dark episodes in our history.

On February 20, 1947, His Majesty's Government made their historic statement announcing their 'definite intention' to transfer power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948. Viscount Mountbatten came out to India as the last Viceroy for carrying out the British intentions. He dived into business straightaway and held a series of talks and conferences with the Indian leaders. Then came His Majesty's Government's plan of June 3rd which announced the decision to set up a dominion of India and a dominion of Pakistan on August 15, 1947. India accepted the plan because the alternative before her, in the words of Sardar Patel, was either to accept the partition or to be faced complete balkanisation and anarchy.

The clock chimed twelve on the midnight of August 14/15 and colourful ceremonies marked the birth of Pakistan with Quad-

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e-Azam Jinnah as its first Governor-General. The British diplomacy triumphed in India, bringing about the country's vivisection.

We, the people of India, failed to cry halt to the diabolic march of the communal monster. We failed to save the Great Man from its clutches. We failed to rally promptly and determinedly to the call of sanity, wisdom and common-sense. The innate urge of life failed to triumph over the passion for evil-doing. But to brood over them will lead us nowhere. The future beckons us and appeals to all that is noble, lofty and dignified in the Indian people. By infusing not only love and toleration which are, no doubt, important, but also a certain amount of strength and grit into our conduct and policies, we can even now rub out, to a considerable extent, the stigma that mars the pages of our history.

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Kurattiyārs in Tamil Nāḍ

BY

P. B. DESAI, M.A., *Dharwar*

While examining the epigaphical sources for reconstructing the history of Jainism in the Tamil country,[1] I noticed a few interesting features of this religion, which were more or less characteristic of the region. One of these was the Yakshī cult that has been briefly dealt with on an earlier occasion in this journal.[2] Another was the institution of the Kurattiyārs which I propose to discuss in this paper.

Kurattiyār or Kurattigaḷ is the honorific plural of the expression Kuratti which is the Tamil feminine form of the Sanskrit word *guru*. It may be translated as 'lady preceptor'. Kuratti Aḍigaḷ is another respectful term for a lady preceptor, which is also met with in the Tamil inscriptions.

We may commence our survey with an interesting episode relating to a renowned lady preceptor who flourished in the 9th century. Veḍāl in the Wandiwash Taluk of North Arcot District has treasured valuable Jaina antiquities including inscriptions. Not far away from this village are natural caverns on the hills which have been improvised with *maṇḍapas* of later construction. These appear to have been resorted to by Jaina monks and nuns who converted them into monastery and hermitage. In an inscription of the time of Pallava Nandivarman II, engraved on a boulder near the caverns, the place has been mentioned as Viḍārapaḷḷi, i.e., 'the Jaina monastery of Viḍāl'.

In this monastery resided a reputed Jaina lady teacher by name Kanakavīra Kurattiyār. She was the pupil of the venerable

1. This constitutes the subject-matter of a chapter in my book *Jainism in South India* published recently.
2. See my article 'Jainism in Kerala', published in the August issue (1957).

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master Guṇakīrti Bhaṭāra of Viḍāl. Once there arose a dispute between this lady teacher and her five hundred female pupils on one side and the four hundred nuns of another group on the other. In this difficult situation the residents of the locality who owed their allegiance to Kanakavīra Kurattiyār came to her rescue. They promised to safeguard their worthy preceptor as well as her pupils and to provide for their maintenance.

The above details are disclosed by an inscription (*circa* 893 A.D.) of the time of the Chōḷa king Āditya I.[3] This is perhaps the earliest historic evidence of the prevalence of the institution of the Kurattiyārs in the Tamiḻ Nāḍ.

An inscription of the time of the Chōḷa monarch Parāntaka I, dated 944 A.D., at Viḷāpākkam in the above District, speaks of a Jaina lady teacher named Paṭṭini Kuratti Aḍigaḷ who took a leading part in laying the foundation of a Jaina establishment for nuns.[4] The name of the teacher may be translated as 'Her Holiness the Fasting Lady Preceptor'.

The existence of a Jaina lady teacher called Paṭṭini Kurattiyār hailing from Perumbattiyūr and her lady disciple Puvvanandi Kuratti is known from an epigraph[5] at Aivarmalai in the Madura District. Paṭṭini means 'fasting'.

The above three instances would support what we shall observe presently.

Next we proceed further south to another interesting spot called Kaḷugumalai—which etymologically means 'a hill of vultures'—situated in the Koilpaṭṭi Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The place being rich in Jaina antiquities consisting of sculptures and inscriptions, affords ample material for investigating the topic of our study.

The earliest associations of this hill of hoary antiquity with the Jaina ascetics are perhaps to be traced in its natural caverns

3. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 92.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 56.
5. *Madras Epigraphic Report*, 1906, Appendix B, No. 701.

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possessing dressed up beds, popularly attributed to the Five Pāṇḍavas, and inscriptions in Brāhmī alphabet of about the third century B.C.[6]

Coming to the later times, the mount of Kaḷugumalai with its picturesque surroundings, became an object of fasination alike for the devotees and the artists of the Jaina as well as Hindu faiths, who have immortalised their religious fervour by creating out of the hard rock images and temples of superb workmanship in honour of their gods and deities. The idols and shrines of the Hindu persuasion are grouped under the common name Veṭṭuvān Kōvil. The Jaina sculptures are situated at a higher altitude, carved in relief, on the smooth surfaces of the overhanging rock.

The Jaina sculptures comprise mainly the Jinas and a few other deities of the Jaina pantheon, whose number is fairly large. Most of them bear brief inscriptions of the votive class, describing the person or persons who had them constructed for religious purpose. Such donors include the lay followers of the faith and members of the monastic orders, both male and female. The last of these who form a group by themselves may be enumerated here in detail for ready reference. These records are published in the *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. V, and the numbers noted against each item below indicate the particular inscriptions furnishing the details.

I. Pichchai Kuratti hailing from Chiṟupoḷal (No. 319). Pichchai, the name of the lady preceptor, is interesting. It is equivalent of Sanskrit *bhikshā* meaning 'begging'.

6. The mystery regarding the authorship of the rocky beds known as Pañchapāṇḍavar-paḍukkai in Tamil and the puzzle of the Brāhmī writings with their peculiarities, have baffled their solution by renowned scholars who have tried their hands at the problem. From the association of the 'triple umbrella' which is a characteristic emblem of the Jina, with these beds at Śēdarampaṭṭu in North Arcot District (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 11), it can now be safely asserted that some at least of the so-called Pañchapāṇḍava beds found in large numbers in many places, are the relics of Jainism, originally created by the Jaina monks and missionaries who preached their doctrine in the Tamil land during the centuries before the advent of Christ. Compare the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p. 201, n. 5. For a detailed description of these relics see *Proceedings and Transactions of Third Oriental Conference,* pp. 275 ff.

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II. Congregation of lady disciples hailing from Tiruchchāraṇam, who were disciples of Miḷalūr Kuratti (No. 321). This lady preceptor figures in other inscriptions also. She was known evidently after Miḷalūr, the place she hailed from.

III. Śanga Kurattigaḷ associated with the community of carpenters of Veṇbaikkuḍi. She had a pupil named Śiriviśaiya Kurattiyār who, as her name denotes, was a lady preceptor of respectable status (Nos. 322-323).

IV. Tiruchchāraṇattu Kurattigaḷ (Nos. 324 and 326). This preceptor evidently hailed from the Kēraḷa region, since we know that Tiruchchāraṇam with which she was associated is the present Tiruchchāṇattumalai near Chitarāl in the Vilavangod Taluk.[7] We may note the occurrence of the locality above in No. II also.

V. Here is a succession of three teachers, viz., Nālkūr Amalanēmi Bhaṭāra, his lady disciple Nālkūr Kuratti, her lady disciple Nāṭṭikappaṭārar (Nos. 355-356). Amalanēmi and his disciple both hailed from Nālkūr and the latter is introduced by her place name only. Nāṭṭikappatārar, though a lady, bore the male designation Paṭārar which is Sanskrit Bhaṭṭāraka. This is interesting. The designation Bhaṭṭāraka generally denotes pontifical status.

VI. Tirumalai Kuratti who evidently hailed from Tirumalai. She had a male disciple in Enādi Kuttanan (No. 370). This Tirumalai is the Jaina sacred hill near Pōḷūr in North Arcot District.

VII. Mammai Kuratti who had a lady disciple named Araṭṭanēmi Kuratti (No. 371).

VIII. Tiruparutti Kuratti, disciple of Paṭṭini Bhaṭāra (No. 372). Tiruparutti may be shortened Tirupparuttikunram.

IX. Miḷalūr Kuratti, disciple of Pērur Kuratti. The former was daughter of Mingaikumān of Piḍānkuḍi in Karaikkāna Nāḍu (No. 394).

X. Enādi Māgaṇa Kuratti of Nālūr (No. 404).

The epigraphs giving the above details are engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and may be assigned approximately to the period of the 10th and the 11th century.

7. See above, August issue p. 243f.

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The following facts emerge from a careful analysis of the description of the Jaina teachers in the epigraphs noticed above.

1. There existed well-established monastic institutions of lady teachers in different parts of the Tamil country.

2. From Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 9 of the above list, it may be observed that lady pupils were initiated by lady teachers and continuity of such succession seems to have been maintained.

3. Lady teachers were also initiated by male teachers as seen from Nos. 5 and 8 of the above list.

4. Lady teachers entertained male disciples also (*ibid.*, No. 6).

We may notice one more early instance from the Kēraḷa region. This was Guṇandāngi Kurattigaḷ who figures as the donor of gold ornaments to the Bhaṭāriyār (Jaina goddess) of Tiruchchāraṇattumalai in an inscription at Tiruchchāṇattumalai. She was disciple of Araṭṭanēmi Bhaṭāra of Pērayakkuḍi.[8]

The foregoing accounts of lady teachers of the Jaina persuasion culled out from epigraphic sources are not exhaustive. It has to be borne in mind in this connection that the epigraphs themselves present only a partial picture of the Jaina institution of Kurattiyārs which appears to have taken deep root and developed with spectacular growth on a large scale in all parts of the Tamil country.

In order to judge the significance of this Jaina institution of Kurattiyārs in the Tamil country, we have to ascertain if there existed similar institution elsewhere also in other parts of India in general and South India in particular. Here we have to draw a line of distinction between ordinary Jaina nuns who merely renounced the world and devoted themselves to the practices of self-discipline and ascetic culture on the one hand and female recluses of a special class who enjoyed certain privileges in the church like the monks and teachers of respectable monastic foundations on the other. The former class was usually an appendage to established monasteries of Jaina monks and treated as inferior to them. They had no independent status of their own, being always placed

8. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, p. 125, n. 1.

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under the control and supervision of the senior preceptors and office-bearers of the order.[9]

The Jaina church encouraged not only men, but also women aspirants to vow themselves to the sublime path and practices of the faith. Firstly, among the female votaries of the faith there was the universal class of devotees who were householders. They were known as Śrāvikās or lay followers and disciples. Next came the Jaina nuns who were called Āryā or Āryikā in Sanskrit or Ajjiyā in Prakrit. In North India the more familiar name for a Jaina nun is Sādhvī.[10] In Kannaḍa inscriptions a Jaina nun is often mentioned as Ajji. The expression Kanti occurring in Kannaḍa literatre and inscriptions seems to denote a particular class of Jaina nuns. Kavunti is a famous Jaina character in the Tamil classical work *Śilappadikāram*. She may be the Tamil counterpart of Kannaḍa Kanti. Both these terms are perhaps to be connected with the Sanskrit word *kanthā* meaning 'a torn cloth'.

Let us revert to the Kuratti of the Tamil country. I have examined, and I may say almost exhaustively, hundreds of Jaina inscriptions of the Karnāṭaka, Āndhra and Tamil areas. I have looked into a good number of Jaina epigraphs bearing on the subject from different parts of North India. But nowhere have I come across so far an expression like Kuratti or its equivalent, let alone an institution like that of the Kurattiyārs of the Tamil inscriptions with their socio-religious activities. From these findings I am compelled to surmise that the Jaina institution of Kurattiyārs as revealed by the Tamil epigraphs was a regional development by itself brought about for special reasons under particular circumstances.

It is difficult to trace in the Jaina canonical works sanction for lady preceptors like Kanakavīra Kurattiyār of the Veḍāl inscription, who was in charge of a monastery and controlled as many as five hundred pupils of the fair sex. I am not sure if the leaders of the orthodox Jaina church would have approved the initiation

9. S. B. Deo: *History of Jaina Monachism* (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, June 1954—March 1955), pp. 465 ff.

10. Sādhvī is mentioned as Sāhuṇi in Jaina canonical literature. There are other expressions also such as Bhikkhuṇi and Nigganthi (*ibid.*, p. 467).

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and succession of lady teachers by lady preceptors or a lady preceptor entertaining a male disciple as we have noted from the epigraphs at Kaḷugumalai. These facts, in my opinion, deserve to be treated as unique in the history of Jaina church and I invite scholars interested in Jaina studies to probe into them deeply.

The missionaries of all religions are interested in popularising them and devise means suitable to this end. True to this rule, the Jaina teachers of South India and particularly of the Tamil country had their own ways of spreading the message of the Jina. One of these,[11] it seems to me, consisted in fostering a less rigid and more liberal outlook in respect of the members of the fair sex. The history of Jainism in the Tamil country shows that this device did prove successful, as the womenfolk are the best propagators of religious faiths.

Generally speaking, Jainism advocated wider sympathies towards women than even Buddhism. Gautama Buddha himself was at first opposed to the admission of female members into his church as nuns, but was at last persuaded by his favourite disciple Ānanda to give his consent.[12] Mahāvīra is said to have been followed and accompanied by male as well as female recluses. It is stated that his followers included 14000 monks and 36000 nuns.[13]

Between the Digambaras and the Śvētāmbaras, the two main sects of Jainism, the former imposed more restrictions upon the female members of the monastic order. They held that on account of certain disabilities inherent in them due to their sex, women were not entitled for *mōksha* or Liberation in this life.[14] The Śvētāmbaras, however, were less rigid in their attitude towards the female devotees of the faith. There was another sect of the Jaina monks in the South known as the Yāpanīyas. It is realised in my study of Jainism in Karnāṭaka that the northern areas of this region, particularly Dharwar District was the stronghold of the Yāpanīya sect. Some of the doctrines preached by the

11. The various devices of the Jaina priests and preachers that contributed to the immense popularity of the creed have been discussed severally in my *Jainism in South India.*

12. R. C. Majumdar: *Ancient India* (1952), p. 170.

13. Sinclair Stevenson: *Heart of Jainism,* p. 66.

14. *Pravachanasāra,* Translation p. 28; *History of Jaina Monachism* (op. cit.), p. 497.

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Yāpanīyas were common both to the Digambara and Śvētāmbara schools. But the more reformist view that distinguished the Yāpanīyas from other sects was their advocacy of spiritual liberation for women in this very life.[15]

The history of Jaina church in South India has left no evidence to show that teachers either of the Śvētāmbara or the Yāpanīya order ever penetrated into the Tamil land. But the subtle influence of ideology, if it is powerful, sometimes traverses far beyond the physical barriers. Thus it may not be unreasonable to surmise that the institution of Kurattiyārs in the Tamil country was influenced and encouraged by the above precept of the Yāpanīya school.

15. The Yāpanīya precept is set forth in the passage *strīṇāṁ tad-bhavē mōkshaḥ;* see *Journal of Bombay University,* Arts and Law, Vol. I, p. 227.

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A Note on the Police of the City of Poona

DURING THE PERIOD OF SAWAI MADHAV RAO

BY

V. D. RAO, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Professor of History, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay-19

Quite a few papers have been published about the administrative system of the Marathas. Yet very little has been written about their police system. An attempt is therefore made in the following lines to trace from the original records a history of the police administration of the Poona City.

Writing his famous report soon after the fall of the Marathas, Elphinstone tells us that the Patil was responsible for the police of his village. He was aided by the Kulkarni and the Chougula and when occasion required, by all the inhabitants. His chief assistant was the Mahar or Taral or Jagalya. The duty of a Mahar was to keep watch at night, to find out all arrivals and departures, observe all strangers and report all suspicious persons to the Patil. He was also expected to know the character of each man in the village and in the event of a theft committed within the village bounds, it was his duty to detect the thief. As his allowance was a small share of grain from each house it was possible for him to know a thief.[1]

Poona was just a village before Bajirao I made it his chief place of residence. Naturally the police system was the same as narrated above. Bajirao I built the Shanwar Wada in Poona in 1730. Since then Poona gradually grew into a town. With the death of Raja Shahu in 1749 the *de facto* power of the Maratha Empire passed on to the Peshwas. Poona soon became the capital of the Maratha Empire. After the death of Tarabai, Satara, the official capital of the Marathas lost whatever importance it had, and Poona became the centre of all the political activities of the Marathas.

1. Elphinstone, p. 35.

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During this time Poona had grown immensely in population and prestige. Peshwa Madhavrao I, therefore, thought it necessary to create a special police force for the city under a Kotwal. Accordingly by a sanad dated 18th February 1764 Balaji Narayan Ketkar was appointed Kotwal of the city of Poona. He was entrusted with the work of maintaining order in the city of Poona and was directed to work honestly under the orders of Balaji Janardan (Nana Fadnis).[2] In this sanad there is no mention of the duties of the Kotwal. Some time after this Balaji Narayan Ketkar was removed and Baburao Ram was appointed in his place. For a sanad dated 12th April 1768 mentions that Baburao Ram was removed and Janardan Hari was appointed Kotwal in his place that year. This sanad gives the following details about the duties of the office of the Kotwal.[3]

1. Minor disputes in Peths and Kashas should be disposed of by the Kamavisdar. Only important matters should be looked into by the Kotwal.
2. To fix prices of goods in the market, and to submit the list of price schedule to the Government.
3. To supply labourers from among the artisans and members of the several castes in the city.
4. To grant licences for the sale and purchase of lands in the city. To prepare the necessary documents and to collect the Government dues.
5. To take census, to keep a record of the people coming in and going out of the city. The Kamavisdar of various Peths should give the Kotwal relevant information in the matter.
6. To settle disputes regarding lanes, roads and houses.
7. To see that the professional gamblers do not gamble without a written permission from the Kotwal, also to collect from them the usual tax on gambling. To see that others do not gamble.
8. To furnish monthly accounts to the Government regarding the income and expenditure of the police department.
9. To levy taxes according to a specified schedule.

2. P. D. Vol. VII, No. 629.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 633.

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The sanad further mentions that the office of the Kotwal should be at a place assigned for it in the Budhwar Peth. If the Kotwal has to issue any orders in execution of his duties he should proclaim the same by the beating of drums. If the Kotwal feels that the rules made by his predecessor or any other new rules to be fit for government work and faultless he should inform the government likewise, and then should act in accordance with the orders that he might receive.

For all this work the Kotwal was given a large establishment consisting of

Kotwal at Rs. 300	p.a	
Fadnis at Rs. 200	p.a.	
Dafterdar Rs. 150	p.a.	
4 Karkuns for beat in the Peths	..	Rs. 125 p.a. (per head)
40 Constables	..	Rs. 44 per eleven months (per head).
2 Torch bearers	..	Rs. 55 per eleven months (per head).
2 Orderlies	..	Rs. 50 p.a. (per head)
6 Vatandar	..	Rs. 24 p.a. (per head)

Thus an annual budget of Rupees 3264 was sanctioned for the Kotwal office.

It will be seen from the long list that the Kotwal was alone the police officer, the magistrate, the price controller, the labour supplyer, the licensing authority, the local tax collector and also a census officer. In this respect the Peshwas' Kotwal may be well compared with the Tudor Justice of the Peace rightly called the "maid of all work".

A few additional instructions were issued by a sanad dated 16th July 1776 granted to Anandrao Kashi which appointed him Kotwal in place of Dhondo Babaji.[4] It seems therefore that sometime after 1768 Janardan Hari was removed and Dhondo Babaji appointed in his place, and in 1776 Dhondo Babaji was replaced by Anandrao Kashi. By this sanad Anandrao Kashi was enjoined

4. P. D., Vol. VIII, No. 946.

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to act justly and honestly in the discharge of his duties, without oppressing the people and to keep the people contented by such conduct. He was also asked to patrol the city and maintain order in the city. Gangadhar Shamji was appointed amin (assistant of the Kotwal). All the members of the Kotwal staff were asked to attend the office (Chawdi) regularly for the prompt disposal of their respective assignments. If for any reason any member of the Staff was absent the amin was asked to officiate for him. The Kotwal was asked to carry on his work under the supervision of Pandurang Krishna, Sar Amin. The sanad further empowered the Kotwal to settle disputed cases, quarrels and other judicial matters according to his discretion.

It seems that the position of a Kotwal meant free licence for oppression and corruption. The rule of Anandrao Kashi was no exception. An anonymous complaint against him was sent to Nana Fadnis in 1773.[5] The complainant says "Anandrao Kashi misbehaves, Brahmin and North Indian women from good families are arrested by him for alleged illicit connections. He takes them to his house and there violates their modesty and then releases them. The women move about saying that nobody informs this misconduct of the Kotwal to you (i.e. Nana). The Kotwal says that he is a favourite of yourself hence no one can cause him any harm. If an inquiry is started I can prove all this. He is to pay to the government to the tune of Rs. 25,000. He never inquires about the condition of the people before collecting taxes. He spends lavishly and forces his staff to make false entries. I have many more things to write but I am afraid that you may not like it. If an interview is granted I shall explain personally."

Either because of this conduct or for any other reason Anandrao Kashi was removed and Ghasiram Sawaldas was appointed in his place on 8th February 1777.[6] But it seems that Ghasiram too was removed in a short time. A letter dated 26th March 1778 shows that Anandrao Kashi was Kotwal on the day.[7] This letter refers to Ghasiram as ex-Kotwal. Again on 21st January 1782 Anandrao Kashi was removed and Ghasiram Sawaldas was re-

5. Itihas Sangraha Aitihasik Sphut Lekh 3/15.
6. P. D. Vol. VIII, No. 948.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 909.

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appointed in his place.[8] His salary was fixed at Rs. 500 p.a. In addition he was granted Rs. 66 p.a. for an attendent to hold the "Aftagir" and Rs. 55 p.a. for the torch bearer. The letter of appointment further refers to the unpaid amount of Ghasiram's first Kotwalship and asks him to clear the old debt. He is also to make good from the income of Kotwalship the unsanctioned amounts spent by his predecessor. This letter gives the following additional instructions to the Kotwal.

1. To act under instructions of Pandurang Krishna, Sar Amin.
2. Not to remove the peons and clerks of the Kotwal's office without the consent of the Sar Amin.
3. To see that the members of his staff discharge their duties properly.
4. To act honestly and justly in conformity with the established practice. To keep the ryots contented. Not to behave in an improper manner.
5. As there were no police posts in Narayan Peth and Shanwar Peth a number of offences were committed there, so the Kotwal was asked to have two new police posts there and to defray the expenses thereof from the fees and fines collected.
6. To maintain roads in good order. All sheds and varandahs built unauthorised after the great fire of Poona should be destroyed. To see that new sheds are not built.
7. To collect information through his staff from Peth to Peth about the traitors and conspirators who came to the city. This information should be forthwith communicated to the Government.
8. To warn the inhabitants of the different Peths against misbehaviour.
9. To send efficient clerks and peons for patrolling the city every night and to trace the thieves very carefully and then to hand them over to the Government.
10. Married women should not be given permits to act as prostitutes.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 1158.

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For carrying on all this work the Kotwal was given a staff of 78 men at a cost of Rs. 310 per month. The Kotwal was to render month to month account of the income and expenditure.

Of all the Kotwals of the city of Poona Ghasiram was the most notorious. He was a Kanoja Brahmin from Aurangabad who had come to Poona for employment. He soon secured the favour of Nana Fadnis and became the Kotwal of Poona. Rumour had it that he purchased the favour of Nana "by giving his daughter to be the mistress of Nana Fadniss".[9] Ghasiram's rule seems to be efficient but ruthless. He has been charged with a number of exactions and even murders.[10] Ultimately he met with a terrible death being stoned to death by a large crowd of Telanga Brahmins for the death of about twenty one of their caste, who died of suffocation in his custody. Eye witness accounts of this ghastly deed have been recorded by the clerks of Patwardhan,[11] and Baramatikar Joshi.[12] Sir Charles Mallet has given a graphic account of this tragedy to Captain Forbes.[13]

In spite of this the office of the Kotwal continued to gain in power and prestige. In Bajirao's time the monthly expenditure of the Kotwals establishment was Rs. 9000.[14] Elphinstone in his report as commissioner says "The police however was good; on the whole murders or robberies, attended with violence and alarm, were very rare, and I have never heard any complaints of the insecurity of property".[15] This statement is corroborated by Lt. Edward Moor who visited Poona in 1792. He says that the Poona police were "uncommonly well regulated.[16]

9. B. P. Gazetteer Vol. XVIII, part 3, p. 18.
10. B. P. Gazetteer Vol. XVIII, part 2, p. 280.
11. Khare No. 3374.
12. Itihas Sangraha Aitihasik Tipane 1/4.
13. Forbes Oriental Memoirs Vol. I, p. 422.
14. Elphinstone, p. 38.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Moor, A narrative of the operation of Capt. Little's Department, p. 364.

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An unpublished Sculpture of *Ardhanārīśvara* from Rajasthan[1]

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,

Superintendent, Archaeology & Museums, Udaipur (Rajasthan)

On the philosophic side, the *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva represented "two fundamentally opposite cosmic forces named *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* which are constantly drawn together to embrace and fuse with each other but separated by an intervening axis" (*JUPHS*, XXII, 1949, p. 129). The composite aspect of Umā and Maheśa, possessing all the iconographic features of Śiva in the right half and that of his consort Pārvatī in the other, has well been glorified in ancient Indian literature,[2] epigraphs and sculptures. The second stanza of the inscription of *V.S.* 547 (= 480 A.D.) from Chhoṭī Sādaḍī (Udaipur Rajasthan) and now preserved in the Udaipur Museum invokes the goddess Pārvatī — as the spouse of Śiva and refers to the *Ardhanārīśvara* aspect in the following words:—*Bhūyopi sā jayati yā Śaśiśekharasya dehārddhamudvahati bhaktatayā Harasya* (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXX (4), 1956, pp. 124 and 126, line 2 of the epigraph). Still more, the fragmentary inscription of *V.S.* 701 (= 644 A.D.) from Khaṇḍelā Jaipur, Rajasthan) praises this aspect and even records the construction of a temple,[3] dedicated to *Ardhanārīśvara* at Khaṇḍelā itself. This particular Śaiva edifice of the 7th

1. Abbreviations used:—
   (a) *JUPHS* = *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
   (b) *JISOA* = *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.
2. Kālīdāsa invokes the *Ardhanārīśvara* form in the first verse of his *Raghuvaṃśa*.
3. It is regretted that no panel or image of *Ardhanārīśvara* and pertaining to the Gupta period has been discovered in the regions of Udaipur and Jaipur so far. A temple of *Ardhanārīśvara* is said to have been constructed by Anantavarman—the Maukhari Chief [D. C. Sircar, *Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 421-22]; cf. *ASI. AR.*, 1936-7, p. 112 for an edifice dedicated to the same form of Siva and built at Velapura in district Sholāpura.

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century A.D. owed its existence due to the mighty efforts of one Ādityāṅga, a Vaiśya by caste (cf. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1934-5, pp. 73-4; *Annual Working Report of the Rājputana Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March* 1935; *Varadā*, Hindi Journal — now defunct, *Śrāvaṇa* 2002, Jaipur, Vol. I, p. 12). The inscription of *V.S.* 741 (= 684 A.D.) from Nagar [Jaipur Unit] also makes a reference to the composite form in the first line of it i.e., *Gauriruddhārddha-dehopya-viṣayamanasām* (*Bhārata Kaumudī*, Vol. I, Lucknow, 1945, p. 273).

The earliest, so far known, depiction of this theme in the plastic art of the country is to be found in Kuṣāṇa reliefs from Mathura and now preserved in the local museum (Nos. 800, 874, 2520). Śiva, in No. 2520 is shown as two handed only and the male portion presents him in the *ūrdhvaretas* pose (V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, December 1937, pp. 30-4; *JISOA*, December 1937, p. 134, pl. XIV, fig. 2; *JUPHS*, XXII, 1949, p. 142). The Gupta artists of course handled the theme with unexcelled perfection—a fact which is quite evident from the discovery of a number of sculptures and seals of the contemporary times. Some important finds of this variety may be noted as follows:—

(a) Head only, No. 362 of Mathura Museum; V. S. Agrawala, *JISOA*, 1937, pl. XV, fig. 2; *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 129.
(b) Bust of 3 eyed Śiva; Mathura Museum, No. 722; *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 130; D. B. Diskalkar, *Ibid*, Jan. 1932, pl. XV, fig. 1.
(c) Terracotta-head, Mathura Museum; V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, IX (2), p. 36, fig. 57.
(d) An early-Gupta terracotta seal from Bhīṭā; J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, 2nd edition, pp. 180-1.
(e) Terracotta seal from Basārh; Adris Banerjee, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, December 1955, p. 338.

The *Ardhanārīśvara* form also attracted the sculptors of the post-Gupta and early-mediaeval periods.[4] The stone-panel from

4. Cf. T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, Vol. II (i), pp. 327-32 and the photographs; also J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-8 for the images of three-faced Śiva embodying the *Ardhanārīśvara* aspect therein. Such specimens from Rajasthan have not been reported so far.

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Ardhanārīśvara, Jhālāwār Museum, Rajasthan

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Bādāmi presents some additional details such as the "natural hands of the androgynous god holding a *vīṇā*, Nandī as bull and emaciated Bhṛiṅgī standing by the side of the male half and a female attendant by the female one; a number of *gaṇas* in the dancing and other poses are shown below" (*The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, p. 435). Another relief, from Elephanta, is all the more interesting because of the richness of the details including the figure of Skanda-Kārttikeya with elaborately dressed-hair (cf. Pramoda Chandra, *A Guide to Elephanta*, 1957, Bombay, plates XIV-XV, pp. 6-7).

The ancient sculptors of Rajasthan too carved out such panels and images in a successful manner as is quite evident from the noteworthy early-mediaeval (8-9 C. A.D.) sculptures of *Ardhanārīśvara* from Āmber,[5] Osian,[6] *Ābānerī*[7] .... etc. The *Ardhanārīśvara* from Ābānerī is most graceful and imposing of all the extant contemporary specimens from Rajasthan and has been illustrated by me in the *Lalitkalā, op. cit.*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 130-1, pl. lii, fig. 1. Equally interesting is the collosal image of *Ardhanārīśvara* from Chandrabhāgā Pāṭaṇa and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār. It measures about 3 feet in height and about 19 inches in width; and has been exhibited as No. 88 of the Museum. Its size and prominent pedestal lead us to suggest that it was perhaps under worship inside some Śaiva shrine of the place. The influence of the Gupta art is evident at mere glance and the minutest details have been executed in a vivid manner. The four handed *sthānaka* deity, in the Jhālāwār *Ardhanārīśvara*, bears a vertical[8] third eye in the centre of the

5. Near Jaipur. This unpublished image, inside the temple of Kalyāṇarāyajī at Āmber, presents Gaṇeśa in the same relief.

6. An unpublished but simple image (ht. 1′ 7″) carved in a niche outside the subsidiary shrine near the Temple of Sachiyā Mātā at Osian, Mārwār. For the ancient temples of Osian, consult D. R. Bhandarkar, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908-9, pp. 101 ff.

7. About 50 miles from Jaipur; cf. my paper in the *Lalitkalā*, Lalitkalā Akadamī of India, New Delhi, Nos. 1-2, pp. 130 ff and plates LII-LVI for the sculptures from Ābānerī.

8. Also presented by the Gupta bust from Mathura ie. No. 722 (*JUPHS*, XXII, p. 130); cf. a later relief as illustrated in *Ancient India, Bull. of the Arch. Survey of India*, New Delhi, VI, pl. XX, c, pp. 54-7 for an identical device in the icons of this variety.

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forehead — a feature which is conspicuous by its absence in the later relief from Ābānerī. Still more interesting is the appearance of *sthānaka* and *dvibāhu* Skanda-Kumāra, with his *vāhana* (i.e. a peacock), standing near the left leg and under the lower arm. The dress, hair-decoration and beaded-necklace of Skanda have also been executed under the mighty influence of the Gupta art. The *jaṭā-jūṭa* on the half portion of the head and the plaited hair adorned with a crest-jewel and a lotus-bud on the remaining half, a halo behind the head, a *sarpaveṣṭita triśūla* in the right upper hand and a bull-faced attendant standing below the inverted lotus-bud in the outstretched lower-right hand of Śiva, sacred thread touching the prominent breast (of the female side), an anklet round the left leg, round ear-pendant of the male portion and an elongated one of the female side, two stringed beaded-girdle round the waist .... etc., have been presented with great care and skill. Besides this, the nether-garment (i.e. the transparent *dhotī*) fails to hide the genital organs, both male and female. Not only that, Śiva appears in the *ūrdhvaretas* form as can also be seen in the Kuṣāṇa relief No. 2520 from Mathurā[9] and illustrated by Dr. Agrawala in *JISOA*, Dec., 1937, fig. 2, pl. XIV and also in Nos. 800 and 874.

The existing relief of *Ardhanārīśvara* from Jhalawar (Rajasthan) throws a flood of light on the iconography of Śiva, Pārvatī and Skanda-Kārttikeya[10] during the Gupta period and such a unique specimen of its kind has not been reported from other parts of Rajasthan so far. Iconographically too, the Jhalawar specimen is decidedly much earlier in date as compared to the early-mediaeval sculptures and panels from Osian and Ābānerī as already cited above. The existing statue from Jhalawar region thus occupies an important place in the realm of the plastic art of the Gupta period and deserves great appreciation of art critics. Let us await the discovery of even earlier specimens of this variety from Rajasthan and other parts of the country.

9. The only difference being that the Mathura relief presents the deity as 2 handed whereas the Jhālāwār *Ardhanārīśvara* bears 4 hands, the upper left hand being damaged in the latter.

10. Skanda-Kumāra is conspicuous by his absence in the *Ardhanārīśvara* reliefs from Osian and Ābānerī and that enhances the importance of the Jhālāwār specimen still further. Consult my paper in *Lalitkalā, op. cit.*, Nos. 3-4 for some interesting sculptures of Skanda from Rajasthan.

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The Accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D. LITT.

Professor of Archaeology, University of Madras

The Paṭṭattāḷmangalam Plates of the sixty-first regnal year of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla say that he was the son of Hiraṇyavarman and came to the throne when he was quite young (*yuvaiva*)[1] while the Kasākkuḍi Plates dated in the twenty-second year of his reign give the additional particulars that he belonged to the branch (*varga*) of Bhīmavarman, his sixth ancestor and the younger brother of Simhaviṣṇu of the main line, that he was "chosen—by his subjects" as king,[2] and that he "was engaged in ruling the kingdom of Paramēśva Pōtarāja".[3] The circumstances under which this young boy-prince of a junior branch of the Pallava family six generations removed came to occupy the throne after Paramēśvaravarman[4] would make an interesting study and these are narrated in the descriptive labels incised below the panels of the historical sculptures found on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram.

These sculptures which cover all the four walls of the raised *varandah* running round the central shrine of the temple and are arranged in two rows separated by a narrow horizontal band depict the entire history of the Pallavas from their mythical progenitor Brahmā upto the time of the construction of the temple. Though the sculptures commence from the northern side of the west wall and run clock wise in a *pradakṣiṇa* manner, there are

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 120 and 123, verse 7.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 349 and 357, verse 27. *vṛtah prajābhiḥ*.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 350, 1.72. *Parmēśvara Pōtarājapada—praśāsana pareṇa*. Also p. 356.
4. The Udayēndiram grant dated in the twenty-first year of his reign mentions him as the son of Paramēśvaravarma II evidently to denote that he succeeded the latter or less probably he was the adopted son. (*Ibid.*, p. 363; also 11.19 and 37 on pp. 366, 367 and 371).

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only thirteen explanatory labels all of them found on the south wall where the events leading to and following the coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla are sculptured. The labels constitute as it were the official version of the events relating to the selection and coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and so are important and require careful study and interpretation. Among the thirteen labels four are unfortunately very much damaged, only a few letters here and there being decipherable. Some portions of the others are also damaged to a certain extent.[5]

The first label (Section A) contains the following:—In the Pallava family descended in this was from (the originator) Brahmā Paramēśvarap-Pōttaraiyar becoming a resident of Heaven (*svargastar*) and the kingdom being reduced to a state of anarchy (*utsanna*), the *Māttras,* the *ghaṭakayār* and the *Mūlaprakṛtis* approached Hiraṇyavarmma Mahārāja of the family of the Kāḍava lords (*Kāṭavēśa kula*) to request him to become king, being one able to bear the burden of the kingdom (*rājabhāram grahakka samarttar*) and of pure descent on both sides (*ubhayakulapariśuddhar*). The facts that the kingdom was then without a king, and the throne was vacant are indicated by the blank space which occupies the wall following the coronation of the previous monarch Paramēśvara and preceding these labelled panels.

The next label (Section B) has:

When the members of the deputation came and saw Hiraṇyavarmma—Mahārāja, he asked them about the object of their visit. They replied, "the kingdom has fallen in chaos (*utsanna*) (we are) unable to manage. You being of pure descent on both sides (please) do come as king."

The third label (Section C): Hearing this Hiraṇyavarmma Mahārāja sent for all the *Kulamallar* (*mallas* of the family) and enquired (if they were willing to accept the Pallava kingship). (But) none of them willing to go, he asked his sons Śrīmalla, Raṇamalla, Sangrāmamalla and Pallavamalla. Each of the first

5. *S.I.I.* (Texts), Vol. IV. No. 135. See also *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuntha Perumāl Temple*, Kāñcī, by Dr. C. Minakshi (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 63). Appendix I, pp. 54-55.

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three in turn excused himself saying, "you had better go to rule as king; we will not go"; while Pallavamalla *alias* Paramēśvara bowed to his father and supplicated, 'I shall go'.

On hearing this Hiraṇyavarmma was tossed between two conflicting feelings. The fourth label (Section D) says: Hearing this (Hiraṇyavarmma) feeling happy (*harṣa*) at the thought that the good and truthful son (*satyānvita suputran*) born to enhance the glory of the Khāṭaka kula (*Khāṭaka kulam śirakka tōṉṟiya*) was going to rule the kingdom and grieving (with the thought) of separation (from him) and his heart feeling the touch of ambrosia and poison at the same time,[6] said, "my son who is only a boy of twelve years, I will not send". Whereupon Taraṇḍi-Koṇḍapōśar, an old *āgamika* assured, (and consoled) him that "this (Pallavamalla) had previously worshipped Mahāviṣṇu and would therefore become emperor (or is destined to become emperor). Do not grieve".

The fifth label (Section E) is unfortunately very much damaged. Being very fragmentary we can make out only very little of it. Apparently Hiraṇyavarman saw something resembling a black elephant's head (*kaṟiyakaḷiṟiṉṟalai*) and asks something which we cannot make out. Probably the reply for it is given by Taraṇḍi-Koṇḍapōśar as contained in the next label (Section F). Showing the thing presented by the soldier (*śēvakan*) of the retinue, Taraṇḍi-Koṇḍapōśar said to Hiraṇyavarmma Mahārāja "This is not an elephant's head; but the crown (and other royal insignia) of your son", whereupon the fear (of the latter) was dispelled.

The seventh label (Section G) says: This is the place where (Pallavamalla) having been given permission[7] by Hiraṇyavarmma Mahārāja and Taraṇḍi-Koṇḍapōśar to go got down from the *śivakai* (*sibika* : vehicle) worshipped, prostrated (to them) and took leave (of them).

6. *Amrtamun-na*[*ñji*] *kalandan* (*na*) *hridayattan*. Dr. Minakshi reads the portion as *amrtamannareri kalanda* hridayastan meaning "filled as if with ambrosia and fire at the same time".

7. The actual term is *viḍai koḍukka*. Originally it was read as *paḍai-koḍukka* and translated as "having been given weapons. The latter *vi* is clear and the correct reading is as above.

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The next label (Section H) is read as follows:—

1. Aṅgu-niṉṟum pōndu pala giri-nadi—vana-gahana[m] gaḷaik-kaḷindu varugiṉṟamai kēṭṭu Pallavadi-Araiyar edirēy.
2. mahā balattōḍum vandu yāṉai ēṟṟikkoṇḍu Kāñcīpura-mahānagarattu .... ga marindu pōnda iḍam.[8]

This label inscription has been taken to mean: starting from there Pallavamalla was coming (to Kāñcīpuram) passing through on the way many mountains, rivers and thick forests; hearing these Pallavadi-Araiyar welcomed him with a big army and placing him on an elephant proceeded towards the great city of Kāñcīpuram. But the correct reading and meaning of this label will be discussed more fully later.

The ninth label (Section I) says: Hearing that his (Pallavamalla's) elephant was coming, the *Mahāsāmantar,* the *Nagarattār* merchants), the *Mūlaprakṛti* and the *Kaḍakka Muttarayar* went forward to meet him and all of them entered the palace (*kōyil*).

The tenth label (Section J) records: After entering the palace, the body of ministers (*mantrimaṇḍalam*), the *mahāsāmantar,* the men of the two *gaṇas* (*ubhayagaṇattayār*) and the *ghaṭakayār,* all combined together and anointed him (the prince) under the name of Nandivanman and (investing him) with all the insignia of royalty, such as the royal umbrella (to his chariot) known as *karivai,* the *samudraghoṣa* (conch blowing with the sound of the roaring sea) the *khaṭvānga* flag and the *ṛiṣabha-lāñcchana* (the bull crest) proclaimed his authority by issuing commands under the royal seal of *viḍēl viḍugu.*

The explanatory labels do not stop with the coronation of Pallavamalla. Three more are found. The eleventh one (Section K) is damaged in important places, but enlightens some crucial points. It says: "When here (*ingē*) he became Perumānaḍigaḷ (i.e. His Majesty the King) and had been ruling the kingdom—the

8. The concluding portion of the second line was originally read as follows:-

Kāñcīpura Mahānagaratturugi maṟindu pōnda iḍam. It may probably be read as 'Kāñcīpura Mahānagarattukkarugi (l) maṟindu pōnda iḍam.

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ministers (*mantrigaḷum*), the *mūlaprakṛtis* (*mūlaprakṛtiyum*) and *Jinikayum* .... Śri Calu who was zealous in prowess (*parākram-ō-tsāham uḍaya*). ....

The last two labels are still more damaged. The phrase *avvagaiye irundu pōṇa durdhukkamāga*.... (in such manner the great calamity having come (existed) and gone ....) is decipherable in the twelfth label (Section L), while the expression *svaram gaṇḍār kūṭṭiya nipuṇargaḷ* (the experts assembled by some person or persons) is found in the last label (Section M). The last two labels begin with the word *avvagaiyē* (in such manner) while, as has been said earlier, the first label begins with the word *ivvagaiyē* (in this way). It is possible to conclude that the two expressions *ivvagaiyē* and *avvagaiyē* mark the beginning and end of the explanations of the series of sculptures relating to the accession and coronation of Pallavamalla, and thus the thirteen labels contain the official account of the same.

The eleventh label mentioned above begins with the clause "(when) Perumānaḍigaḷ was ruling *here* (*ingē*) as king". With regard to expression *Śrī Calu* in the label after which some letters are lost, Dr. C. Minakshi supplies the missing letters and reads the word as 'Chālukki Vikramāditta." Though the Editor of the Memoir says that "it is difficult to read these words from the existing traces" the suggestion of Dr. Minakshi appears to be acceptable in view of the fact that the expression *Śrī Calu* is prefixed by the qualification *parākram-ōtsāhamuḍaiya* (who was zealous in prowess). It may be taken that the monarch referred to hear was the Cāḷukyan king who was very likely Vikramāditya II.

The Narwan Plates dated in Śaka 664 (exp) uttarāyaṇa kāla and the eighth regnal year of the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 741 or 42) describe the achievements of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya II. The details contained in them are practically the same as those in the Vakkalēri and Kendūr Plates of Kīrtivarman II. It is said in all of them that "immediately on coronation, being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra*) (i.e. the Pallava) he reached *Tuṇḍākaviṣaya* in great haste, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandi-Pōtavarmman, took possession of particular musical instruments .... many elephants and a heap of rubies; he then entered the city of Kāñcī but did not

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destroy it, and acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasimhēśvara and other gods which have been caused to be built by Narasimha Pōtavarman.[9] This statement finds corroboration in the much obliterated short Kannaḍa inscription of Vikramāditya found on one of the pillars of the Rājasimhēśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, mentioning that the king having captured Kāñchī (and) having inspected the riches (belonging to the temple of) Rājasimhēśvara gave (them) again to the God..[10]

This expedition of Vikramāditya against the Pallava took place according to the Cāḷukyan records immediately after his coronation and was carried out in great haste. He ascended the Cāḷukyan throne in A.D. 733-34 and we may not be far wrong if we take that the expedition took place in A.D. 734. His Pallava adversary at that time was the young Nandivarman Pallavamalla.[11] But this was not the first expedition of Vikramāditya against Kāñcī. A Kannaḍa inscription on a slab broken into two and lying near the dilapidated Trimūrti temple at Uḷchaḷa in the Kurnool Taluk, dated in the 35th regnal year of the Western Cāḷukya King Vijayāditya corresponding to A.D. 731 records that yuvarāja Vikramāditya went on an expedition to Kāñcī, levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava, and while returning presented Uḷchaḷu and Pariyaḷu to Durvvinīta Ereyappa who granted certain concessions.[12] It will be clear from the above that Paramēśvaravarman II was ruling the Pallava kingdom in A.D. 731 and that tribute was levied from him by the Western Cāḷukya. It is not known how long he ruled after that. Since no inscription bearing a date later than his third regnal year has been found so far, it may be taken that he died soon after and Nandivarman Pallavamalla ascended the throne by 733 or 734 A.D. Immediately thereafter Vikramāditya invaded the Pallava kingdom as shown above. The question naturally arises as to why he should have directed his wrath on this boy-king just

9. See *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 23 pp. and XXVII, p. 129.
10. *Ep. Ind., III*, p. 360.
11. Both Chālukya Vikramāditya and Nandivarman Pallavamalla came to the throne almost at the same time.
12. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1943-44 and 1944-45. App. E. No. 22 of the collection in the year 1941-42. See also *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 54.

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twelve years old, especially when the previous Pallava king had submitted to the Cāḷukya and paid tribute earlier.

It appears that the eighth label (Section H) of the Vaikuṇṭa-Perumāḷ temple contains an indirect answer to the above. It records that a certain Pallavadi—Araiyan who came to meet Pallavamalla on his way to Kāñcīpuram to assume that Pallava crown died (*maṛindu pōṇḍa*) probably near the outskirts of Kāñcī. This point has unfortunately not been noticed so far. Why should the death of a person be mentioned while narrating the events connected with an auspicious function like the coronation of a king, unless it has a bearing directly on it, very likely a conquest?

But the label as construed at present does not envisage any such thing. It is taken as recording the homage paid by the feudatories to the king-elect on his way to assume the crown. Further the Pallavadi-Araiyar, mentioned in it is taken as a feudatory chief of the Pallavas like the Muttaraiyar and Pēraraiyar. But we have to take the word Pallavadi-Araiyar to mean a junior member of the Pallava ruling family on the analogy of the word Gangadhi-araiyar which means Ganga princes ruling over provinces. Such usages are found in some inscriptions. For instance the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I mention the construction of temple Vidyāvinīta Pallava Paramēccuragṛham and the gift of the village of Parameśvaramangalam by Vidyavinīta Pallavādhirāja (Sanskrit portion 1.54).[13] Again the Hellegeri Copper Plate grant dated in Śaka 635 (713-714 A.D.) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga king Śivamāra mentions two persons Jayapallvādhiṛaja and Vṛddhi Pallavadhirāja the two year sons of the Pallava *Yuvarāja*.[14]

Really the label appears to record a different tale. It says that Pallavadi Araiyar came to meet the newly elected ruler with his great force or large army (*mahābalam*). It would seem incongruous for a feudatory chief to take his large army (*mahābalam*) with him when proceeding to meet and pay his homage to the king-elect on the latter's journey to the capital for his coronation. The wording of the label and the use of the word *mahābalam* have to be taken to mean military action.

13. *S.I.I.*, I, p. 154.
14. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

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The sculptures depicting the scene do not also show the prince on the back of an elephant. The relative panels are described as follows :-

Panel VII which is divided horizontally into two sections contains in the upper row a seated royal figure, sad and dejected, with two attendants to his right. The rest of the panel illustrates one scene. A number of men on the right side are cheering a person, evidently Pallava-malla, as he is proceeding on horse back. A man with a *kirīṭa* on his head is meeting him. Evidently this is the Pallavadi Araiyar. His army of elephants is represented in the next panel (i.e.) Panel VIII which is again divided as before into two sections. The upper is filled with the army of elephants and the lower contains the marching soldiers and horsemen. In the next panel (i.e. Panel IX), the officials, the townsmen, the feudatories and the *Mūlaprakṛtis* are all seen in the lower half of the panel going towards Paramēśvara Pallavamalla to welcome him. He is seen on horse back.[15] Nowhere is the king-elect seen seated on the back of an elephant as the inscribed label is said to narrate. On the other hand the disposition of the elephants and of the marching soldiers and horsemen, nay, of the whole scene, seems to illustrate some military activity.

Further the expression which has been read as *ēṟṟink-koṇḍu* meaning raising or placing the prince on the back of the elephant is not also supported by the sculpture. The word may better be read as *eṟṟik-koṇḍu* with a short *e*. The word *eṟṟudal* means to attack, to kick, to strike, to kill. With this suggested reading the label may be translated as follows : "Starting from there, he (Pallavamalla) was coming on the way leaving behind many mountains rivers, and dense forests; and hearing this Palavadi Araiyar came opposite to him with a big or great army (*mahābalam*), struck and killed elephants and died—(near) the great city of Kāñcīpuram.

Thus it will be seen that the selection of the boy Pallavamalla was not unanimous or without opposition as it has been supposed to be. The label clearly states that the boy's progress towards Kāñcīpuram was opposed by Pallavadi Araiyar who however died in the skirmish though he killed some elephants.

15. Minakshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

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Who the Pallava Prince was that opposed Pallavamalla on his way to his coronation and died is not clear. It is possible he was one of the two Pallavadhi rājas mentioned as the sons of a Pallava *Yuvarāja* in the Hellegere grant dated in 713-14 A.D. mentioned above. The name of the Pallava Yuvarāja is not given in the inscription. The then Pallava king was Rājasimha also known as Narasimhavarman II. He had two sons Mahēndravarman III and Paramēśvaravarman II. We have an inscription of Mahendra in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram.[16]. But he does not seem to have succeeded to the throne. Evidently he predeceased his father.[17] But when that happened is not known. Anyway the *Yuvarāja* mentioned in the Hellegeri inscription must be either Mahendra III or Paramēśvara II.

If the Pallava Araiyar who opposed Pallavamalla before his coronation was possibly one of the two grandsons of Rājasimha, then naturally the question arises as to what became of the other. The Udayēndiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla give a graphic account of his long and difficult campaign against the Southern powers and the services rendered by Udayacandra, the Lord of Vilvalapura, and the general of Nandivarman to his royal master.[18] The grant says: "When he (Udayacandra) perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the *Drāviḍa* princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death of the cloud of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with his sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king Chitramāya and others"[19] (*Citramāya Pallavarājam*). Chitramāya was one of the titles of Paramēśvaravarman I.[20] Possibly the Pallava prince Citramāya killed by Udayacandra was the great-grandson of Paramēśvaravarman and bore his name. Thus even after his coronation Pallavamalla had a Pallava claimant to the throne to oppose him. It is possible to surmise from the

16. *S.I.I.*, I, No. 27, p. 22.
17. Minakshi, *op. cit.*, p. 32, descriptions of panels XVII and XVIII. The wounded chief being carried in a cloth hammock to the presence of the king and his queen and the two Brāhmaṇas seated on the floor below the king's seat as if in the act of prayer may well be taken as representing the death of Mahendra III.
18. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II., Pt. III, No. 74, pp. 367-374.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 9; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 10.

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Udayēndiram grant that Citramāya who is mentioned there as king was not prepared to accept Pallavamalla as the Pallava king and probably was able to wrest a part of the Pallava kingdom from Pallavamalla and was ruling it as its king.

When there were thus at least two princes coming in regular Pallava line and claiming right to succeed to the Pallava throne, it will appear strange that the *Māttras*, the *Ghaṭikayār* and the *Mūlaprakṛtis* of the Pallava kingdom should approach Hiraṇyavarma and request him to accept the crown. The two requisite qualifications which were necessary to rule the kingdom, and which, they thought, Hiraṇyavarman possessed and so was eligible for being chosen as king, were ability to bear the burden of the kingdom and purity of descent on both sides (*rāja*[*bhā*] *ram grahakka samarthar—ubhayukula pariśuddhar*). But one wonders if the first requisite for the kingdom could have been satisfied by the selection of Pallavamalla as king since he was only a boy of twelve years and was living at a place far away from Kāñcīpuram and separated from it by hills, rivers and forests.[21] In the early years of his reign at least he must have been a king only in name, the actual powers being in the hands of some others. But with the present available evidence it is not possible to say who the *de facto* ruler of the Pallava kingdom was during the early years of the reign of Pallavamalla or if he had the support of any foreign power. But it is certain that there was a strong party that stood for him and supported him successfully against the other Pallava princes who opposed him. But from the point of view of ability to bear the burden of the kingdom the Pallavadi Araiyar who opposed Pallavamalla with a *mahābala* was probably a better person. He had possibly some support from inside and outside the Pallava kingdom. And even after his death we find that another, Citramāya, put forth his claim to the Pallava throne and partially succeeded in his attempt.

Thus there appears to have been two strong opposing parties in the Pallava kingdom. The expedition undertaken by the Western Chāḷukya, king, Vikramāditya II, in great haste immediately after his coronation against Pallavamalla would suggest that the

21. It is not even known whether the place where the junior family of the Pallavas to which Hiraṇyavarman belonged had been then residing was within the Pallava kingdom itself or outside it.

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Pallavadi Araiyar who fought against Nandivarman before his coronation and died had the support of the Chāḷukyas, and the expedition of Vikramāditya against Kāñcī was undertaken to avenge the death of his protege. The Kannaḍa inscription of the Cāḷukya king in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram testifies to the fact that the expedition was successful, and that the Pallava kingdom was conquerred by him. Probably he installed Citramāya on the Pallava throne and made grants to the Kailāsanātha temple, without destroying the city. All the above discussion would show that the first requisite thought to be essential for ruling over the Pallava kingdom does not seem to have been satisfied by the selection of Pallavamalla to the Pallava throne.

Much is not known about the purity of decent on both sides mentioned as the second requisite. From the information available it is seen that the rival princes were of the same Pallava family. As such the purity of their descent on the male side is beyond question. If at all any claim is to be made of purity it could be only on the female side. The Kaśākuḍi Plates describe Nandivarman as one "who is able to support the race of the Pallavas" (*Pallavānām kula bharṇa paṭuḥ*) and "who is descended from a pure mother" (*śuddha mātranvavāyaḥ*).[22] With this has to be compared what is stated in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple label, namely *ubhayakula pariśuddha*. Thus more than the ability to rule, family purity was considered important, and from that point of view Nandivarman Pallavamalla had obviously a better claim to the Pallava throne than Pallavadi Araiyar who was probably an illegitimate son of Paramēśvarman II. Hence his choice.

Thus a careful examination of the contents of the label inscription in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple and other pieces of evidence would show that the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to the throne was not so peaceful as is supposed. Since the available material bearing on the subject does not give the entire information it is not possible to determine in detail the exact course of events. But one thing is clear. There were other Pallava princes evidently of the main line itself who had good support from one section of the people and they strongly opposed Pallavamalla from the very beginning.

22. S.I.I., II, p. 350. 1.70.

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The Acquisition and Loss of Ranthambhor by Rao Surjan Hada

BY

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI, M.A., LL.B.,

Conquest of Ranthambhor by Rao Surjan:

Being hard pressed by Habib Khan, an imperial commander, Sangram Khan, the Afghan Commander of Ranthambhor, agreed to hand the fort over to him on certain conditions, one of them being that a part of the stipulated money should consist of ready cash. Habib Khan had no ready money to pay. So he resorted to delaying tactics with the intention of conquering the fort by force.[1] Haji Khan, who had been expelled by the Mughals from Jaitaran,[2] arrived on the scene at this time. Possibly, on Haji Khan's advice and himself being also sure of the futility of further resistance to the Mughals,[3] Sangram Khan called Rao Surjan of Bundi, the powerful Hada chieftain and a vassal of Mewar to help him.[4] Surjan was then 'celebrated for his wealth and number of followers.[5] He went with 400 followers and contrived to enter into the fort at mid-night.[6] One Savant Singh Chauhan, who had fled Bundi to save his life from Rao Surtan, the former ruler of Bundi, and joined Islam Shah Sur and got a post in the fort of Ranthambhor, was already there.[7] Surjan, having paid the required money to Sangram Khan[8] on behalf of Udai Singh,[9] got

1. Al Badaoni (Lowe Tr.), II/25-6. The fort of Ranthambhor was surrendered to Sher Shah (Akbar Nama: Beveridge Tr., I/400) by Abul Farah Khan Khanan, the governor of Qadir Shah of Malwa, who had acquired it after the death of Bahadur Shah (Tarikh-i Sher Shahi: Allahabad MS, leaf 185).
2. Nensi I/60.
3. Ain-i Akbari (Second edition), I/482.
4. ibid, I/482; Akbr Nama I/133.
5. Tabkat-i Akbari: De Tr., II/234.
6. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2246.
7. ibid, pp. 2218-9.
8. Akbar Nama II/133: Tab. II/234: Al Badaoni II/26; Briggs: Farishta II/232; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
9. cf. Nensi I/60, 111.

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the fort well equipped and strong.[10] The Rao held the fort against the Mughals[11] with the help of the Afgan garrison whom he won over to his side and employed in his service.[12] Sangram Khan on the receipt of the stipulated sum left Ranthambhor and, along with Haji Khan, threaded his way to Gujarat.[13] The Mughals remained at Ranthambhor for some time and were ultimately compelled to raise the siege.[14] Surjan won over the neighbouring potentates by bribe or diplomacy.[15] Udai Singh, in whose name the fort was acquired from the Afgans, entrusted the command of Ranthambhor to Surjan Hada.[16] Surjan took up his residence there,[17] built a palace in the fort[18] and stored a large quantity of provisions and arms.[19] The adjoining districts were also brought under his control.[20] Gradually his authority was established over 400 villages in the vicinity of Ranthambhor which lodged terror in the heart of the Mughals.[21] Akbar sent Habib Khan again to conquer the fort.[22] Udai Singh checked the Mughals.[23] Habib Khan once again besieged the fort.[24] Hard battles were fought but Surjan stuck valiantly to the defence of Ranthambhor. The siege lasted for a long time.[25 & 26] Meanwhile Bairam Khan revolted and the Mughals were once again compelled to raise the siege and retire.[27] The only gain to the

10. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2248.
11. cf. Al Badaoni II/26.
12. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2248.
13. Al Badaoni II/26. See also Mirat-i Sikandari; Faridi Tr., p. 279; Tab. II/400; Farishta IV/157.
14. Al Badaoni II/26. See also Ain. (i/482). Abul Fazl attributes this failure partly to ill-luck and partly to the confusion consequent upon the fall of Bairam Khan.
15. Al Badaoni II/26.
16. Nensi I/60, 110.
17. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2248.
18. Akbar Nama II/133.
19. Al Badaoni II/26.
20. Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/234.
21. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2246.
22. Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/234. Al Badaoni (II/29) calls him Hussain Khan.
23. Amar Kavya, SBU MS. No. 1661, leaf 33 (a).
24. Al Badaoni II/29; Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/29.
25 & 26. Tab. II/234.
27. Akbar Nama II/133; Al Badaoni II/29.

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Mughals was the plunder from the area around the fort.[28] One year after the purchase of the fort Surjan removed the Afghan garrison from the fort.[29]

Akbar's Preparations against Ranthambhor:

On his way back after his conquest of Chittoor Akbar reached Ajmer on Sunday, March 6, 1568 A.D. and prayed at the mosque of Khwaha Nizamuddin Chisti.[30] After a stay of 10 days on March 16, 1568 A.D.[31] he left for Agra[32] via Mewat,[33] Alwar and Narnul[34] and reached Agra[35] on April 13, 1568 A.D[36]. He stayed at Agra for some months.[37] During this period he decided to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor because the occupation of such a strong fort by the Rana had made *peace in the empire* impossible.[38] Orders were issued for the mobilization of those soldiers who had not served in Mewar. Asharaf Khan,[39] Sadiq Khan Mir Munshi,[40] Samanji Khan[41] and Khwaja Gayasuddin Bakshi[42] were sent with a huge army as an advance party for this task[43]. Hardly had they moved out that the news of the return of Ibrahim Mirza and Muhammad Hussain Mirza, the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, to Malwa[44] was received by Akbar from these generals.[45] So this army was diverted from Ranthambhor and sent to chase

28. Tab. II/234.
29. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2246.
30. Tab. II/348; Al Badaoni II/108. (II/482) gives March 10, 1568 A.D.
31. Tab. II/348. Akbar Nama (II/482) gives March 14, 1568 A.D.
32. Tab. II/348; Al Badaoni II/108.
33. Tab. II/349.
34. *ibid*, II/350.
35. *ibid*, II/350; Farishta, II/232; Al Badaoni II/108.
36. Akbar Nama II/484.
37. Tab. II/350.
38. *ibid*, II/350; Akbar Nama II/484.
39. Tab. II/484; Akbar Nama II/484; Al Badaoni II/110; Ain-i Akbari (Second Ed.), I/489.
40. Akbar Nama II/484. Tab. (II/350-1) and Al Badaoni (II/110) separate the words 'Sadiq Khan' and 'Mir Munshi' which confuses. In fact Sadiq Khan might have been 'Mir Munshi' of this expedition.
41. Akbar Nama II/484; Ain. I/489; Masir-ul Umara (Beveridge Tr. & Second Edi.), II/703-4.
42. Farishta II/232.
43. Tab. II/350; Al Badaoni II/110.
44. Tab. II/350; Farishta II/232.
45. Al Badaoni II/110.

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out the Mirzas from Malwa[46] in conjunction with the forces of Qulij Khan, which were also originally mustered to attack Ranthambhor.[47] The Mirzas precipitately crossed R. Narbada and fled to Gujarat.[47] After the flight of the Mirzas, Qulij Khan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan and other amirs returned to Agra and the fief-holders of Malwa repaired to their estates.[48]

Akbar's March against Ranthambhor:

During this period Akbar had called Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan, Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan, Kamal Khan Kakhar (Ghakkar)[49] and the whole Atgah clan[50] from the Panjab. They arrived at the court in August 1568 A.D.[51] Hussain Quli Khan was called from Nagor[52] and asked to remain with the emperor till the reduction of the fort of Ranthambor.[53] His brother Ismail was also asked to stay in Agra.[54] On December 21, 1568 A.D.[55] Akbar moved from Agra to Delhi[56] to pray at the tomb of Humayun for victory at Ranthambhor.[57] After staying for some time at Delhi, he moved out for Ranthambhor[58] via Mewat and Lalsot.[59] The Mughals reached at the foot of the fort of Ranthambhor[60] on February 8, 1569 A.D.[61]

46. *ibid*, II/110; Tab. II/350; Farishta II/232; Akbar Nama II/485; Maslr. II/208; Faizi Sirhind: Akbar Nama, Elliot V/124-5.
47. Tab. II/350-1; Al Badaoni II/110; Farishta II/232.
48. Al Badaoni II/110; Akbar Nama II/486.
49. Tab. II/350-1. Cf. Akbar Nama II/486.
50. Al Badaoni II/109.
51. Tab. II/352; Akbar Nama II/487.
52. Tab. II/352; Akbar Nama II/487-8, Al Badaoni II/109; Ain. I/349; Masir., II/646.
53. Tab. II/352. Cf. Akbar Nama II/488.
54. Tab. II/352.
55. ibid, II/352. Al Badaoni (II/100) simply says, 'in the beginning of Rajab' (976 A.H.), i.e., in the last week of sec. 1568 A.D.
56. Tab. II/352; Akbar Nama II/489; Al Badaoni II/110. Farishta (II/232) does not refer to this visit to Delhi by Akbar and says that in Dec. 1568 A.D. Akbar marched from Agra to conquer Ranthambhor.
57. Akbar Nama II/489.
58. *ibid*, II/490; Tab. II/353; Al Badaoni II/110.
59. Akbar Nama I/490. Lalsot is 40 miles south of Jaipur.
60. *ibid*, II/490; Tab. II/353; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
61. Akbar Nama II/490.

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Geographical Location of Ranthambhor:

At Ranthambhor two equally high peaks of Aravali, Ran and Thambhor, overlooking each other, stand side by side; one of them lodges the fort of Ranthambhor on it. The fort, defended by a girdle of mountains, is strong and lofty, incapable of being reduced by catapults. To the natural defences of the fort, Surjan had added a strong defensive masonry.[61a] In May 1561 A.D. Akbar had passed near the fort of Ranthambhor on his way to Malwa to reduce Adham Khan. Rai Surjan had fulfilled the obligations of hospitality due to the emperor, possibly, at the instance and on behalf of Udai Singh, by suitable presents and personal participation in the function of welcome.[62] It was near Ranthambhor that Akbar and Biharimal had met for the feast arranged to celebrate the occasion of the inclusion of Biharimal's daughter in the imperial harem.[63] Thus Ranthambhor lay on the direct imperial route and was too close to Agra to be left in the hands of the Rana of proved anti-Mughal inclinations.

Preliminary overtures of Akbar through Bhagwandas:

Before beginning of the siege Akbar sent Bhagwandas as envoy to Rao Surjan to arrange a peaceful surrender of the fort but the Rao refused to admit the Raja into the fort. So Bahgwandas delivered his message to the Rao through a messenger to surrender the fort to Akbar whom, according to the message, no power in India, could oppose. Surjan's asylum to Afgan soldiers was also cited by the Raja as condusive to quarrel and hence advice to disband them. Surjan refused both these requests[64] and prepared for the defence of the fort.[65] The reason for this defiant attitude of Surjan lay in the feeling of security offered by the natural strength of the fort of Ranthambhor,[66] wherein he had already collected ample provisions.[67]

61a. *ibid.* II/49.
62. *ibid*, II/490. Abul Fazl wrongly calls it 'homage of submission'.
63. *ibid*, II/491.
64. Vansha Bhaskar, PP/2260-2.
65. *ibid*, II/2262; Farishta II/232-3.
66. Ain. I/449. See also Tarikh-i Alafi (Elloit V/175) and Masir II/917.
67. Akbar Nama II/497. See also Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175 and Al Badaoni II/26.

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Siege of Ranthambhor:

Immediately after reaching the fort Akbar himself inspected the surroundings of the fort from a hill-lock.[68] Orders for fixing batteries around the fort were issued after reconnoittering the place with skilled engineers.[69] On March 10, 1569 A.D. the siege of the fort began.[70] Traffic to and from the fort was stopped.[71] Batteries were carried forward.[72] The construction of 'sabats' was undertaken.[73] Heavy cannonade on the fort commenced.[74] The eminence of the peak of 'Ran'[75] was found more suitable for cannonading the fort and orders were issued to carry heavy artillery pieces to that point.[76] Soon the Mughal engineers employed themselves to achieve this miracle which so far no sovereign intending to conquer Ranthambhor had attempted.[76] During this period the fourteenth anniversary of the accession of Akbar arrived on March 14, 1569 A.D. and the occasion was celebrated with befitting festivities for 3 days.[77] Muhammad Qasim Khan[78] and Raja Todarmal,[79] ordered to construct 'sabats',[80] showed great activity. Skilled carpenters, stone-cutters and smiths, working under expert supervision, succeeded in raising a 'sabat' near the valley of Ran and carried their construction[81] close to the fort[82] at level with the ramparts[83] in 20 days.[84] Meanwhile, according

68. Masir. II/917.
69. *ibid*, II/917; Akbar Nama II/491.
70. Farishta II/233.
71. Akbar Nama II/491; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
72. Tab. II/354.
73. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
74. Akbar Nama II/491.
75. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175. See also Al Badaoni II/111; Akbar Nama II/494. Farishta (II/233) calls it Mudun.
76. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
77. Tab. II/353, n. 1. This passage, according to the Translator's remark, is found only in one manuscript.
78. Akbar Nama II/493; Tab. II/353, n. 1 (carried on to p. 354).
79. Akbar Nama II/493.
80. *ibid*, II/493; Tab. II/353, n. 1 (carried on to p. 354).
81. Akbar Nama II/493.
82. Al Badaoni II/111; Tab. II/354 (here translation of leaves from other two manuscripts of Tab. is given).
83. Akbar Nama II/493.
84. Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS of Tab.)

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to the instructions of Akbar,[85] 15 culverins,[86] each of which could be dragged with great difficulty by 200 pairs of oxen over level ground,[87] were mounted into positions by the labour of porters[88] 7800 in number,[89] on the precipitous height of Ran,[90] an unprecedented achievement on the part of Akbar.[91] Each of these ordnance pieces could discharge boulders weighing 5 and 7 'mans'.[92] They could also dart heavy round-shaped compounds of seven metals.[93] From their positions opposite the fort[94] commanding the rampart of the latter,[95] the first shot from these cannon struck the house of Surjan.[96] This made Surjan very apprehensive.[96] The first day cannonade destroyed several houses.[97] A great consternation spread amongst the garrison.[98] Along with some tall buildings, the walls of the citadel were also shattered on the first day.[99] Each volley broke down either some portion of the fort wall[100] or pulled down some houses.[101] Several

85. *ibid,* II/354 (Extract from other two MSS); Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

86. Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab., II/354. (Extract from other two MSS). Akbar Nama (II/494) and Farishta (II/233) do not give the number of these pieces.

87. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Akbar Nama II/494; Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS).

88. Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS).

89. Al Badaoni II/111. Tab. (Extract from two other MSS, II/354) gives the number of the porters as 500.

90. Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Akbar Nama II/494; Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS).

91. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Farishta II/233.

92. Al Badaoni II/111; Tab. II/354 (Extract from two other MSS.). The statement of Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/175 and Akbar Nama (II/494)) that these artillery pieces could discharge stones weighing up to 50 to 60 'mans' are obvious exaggerations. See also Oza; Rajputana Ka Itihas II/731.

93. Akbar Nama II/494. The statement about their weight of 30 'mans' cannot be accepted. See also Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS.).

94. Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS.).

95. Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

96. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

97. Al Badaoni, II/111; Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS.). See also Akbar Nama II/494.

98. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

99. Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS.).

100. Akbar Nama II/494.

101. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

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breaches were made in the walls of the fort.[102] The damage to the buildings by every salvo of artillery,[103] the panic consequent upon this damage[104] and the knowledge of the exemplary punishment to the garrison of Chittor[105] made Surjan anxious and desperate.[106] The incapacity of the garrison to oppose the assailants was now obvious.[107] However, the gunners continued to rain fire upon the besiegers. [108] So Akbar let himself to be persuaded by Raja Bhagwandas, who, by reminding the emperor of the difficulties and losses at Chittor, managed to get himself commissioned for fresh negotiations with Surjan,[109] who was also by now chastened by the activity of the artillery from the eminence of Ran.[110] Bhagwandas was authorised to negotiate the surrender of the fort for districts in Benares, Mathura and on the banks of Narbada.[111] Surjan was also reminded of the dreadful consequences if he failed to respond properly. The threat of a general assault on the following day of Id[112] in case the Rao failed in making submission[113] and the desperation of Surjan, who now despaired of the defence of the fort,[114] made him sue for peace on the folowing conditions : —

(1) He should be permitted to give three cheers in the name of the Rana of Mewar even while attending the imperial court;

(2) He would never take up arms against the Ranas of Mewar;[115]

102. Tab. II/3545.
103. Farishta II/233.
104. cf. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
105. *ibid*, Elliot V/175; Al Badaoni II/111.
106. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab. II/355; Akbar Nama II/494.
107. Al Badaoni II/111.
108. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2263.
109. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2263; Nensi I/111. Though Akbar Nama (II/494) does not specifically mention Bhagwandas by name in this connection yet it refers to the intermediary role of some court nobles.
110. cf. Nensi I/111.
111. Surjancharitra, XVIII/2-22.
112. Akbar Nama II/494; Masir. II/917.
113. Akbar Nama II/494. The story of Akbar's entry in the fort as a mace bearer of Raja Man Singh (Tod III/1481) is simply fantastic.
114. Ain I/449.
115. Nensi I/111.

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(3) No lady from his family would be demanded in marriage for the imperial family;[116]

(4) Ladies from his family would not attend the Nauraz festival;

(5) The Rao would bear arms in both Darbar-i Khas and Darbar-i Arm;

(6) The drums of the Hada ruler would keep beating upto the walls of the red fort;

(7) The Hadas would not cross River Attock in the north;

(8) The horses of the Rao would not be branded by the imperialists;

(9) He would not fight under anybody else's command;[117] and lastly,

(10) In exchange for the fort of Ranthambhor he should get 26 fief-lands near Hadauti and 26 near Benares.[118]

116. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2298. See also Masir I/409.

117. *ibid*, pp. 2268-9.

118. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2298. The names of the fief-lands adjoining Hadauti were situated in the following places:—

(1) Hinglajgadh, (2) Sahabad, (3) Malpur, (4) Toda, (5) Tonk, (6) Shergadh, (7) Rampur, (8) Kakadi, (9) Sironj, (10) Barwada, (11) Balabhet, (12) Mallarana, (13) Khatakheri, (14) Bhelsa, (15) Khandari, (16) Chainpur, (17) Bari, (18) Kheri, (19) Bainagadh, (20) Singoli, (21) Bhainsrorgadh, (22) Katholi, (23) Sathora, (24) Gugara, (25) Khalipur,, (26) Agra.

The names of some of the places where the remaining fief-lands were situated.

(1) Manda, (2) Ramgadh, (3) Mainpur, (4) Saidabad, (5) Gadh Charna (Chunar Gadh), (6) Jhabalpur, (7) Awar. However, Nensi (1/111) says that Surjan got only 4 paraganas in Chunar, near Benaras for Ranthambhor.

Dr. Dashrath Sharma (Shaudh Patrika I/3-pp. 135-141) has made out a case in defence of Surjan with the help of the testimony of Surjan-charitra. He holds that Surjan did not get *so many* districts as Vansha Bhaskar states. However, it is to be borne in mind that it is difficult to rule out the testimony of Surajmal's Vansha Bhaskar because Kavi Chandra Shekhar fails to mention some of them. Any way, it is difficult to refute the charge of Tod (III/1481-3) that Surjan surrendered the fort for a bribe.

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Visit of the Hada Princes to Akbar and Surjan's Surrender:

Akbar accepted these terms.[119] So the Rao sent his two sons — Duda and Bhoj — with some officers[120] to the court[121] and asked for his personal safety.[122] Akbar received them well[123], honoured them with robes of honour, to wear which they were carried to an adjoining apartment. One of the attendants from the fort, somewhat of unsound mind, who was standing outside the camp, believed that the princes were arrested and carried into custody; so he pulled out his sword for rescuing them. Bipakdas Sakrwal, a servant of Bhagwandas, tried to explain the whole situation but in vain and got attacked by that attendant. After finishing the servant of Bhagwandas, this mad-man ran towards the imperial tent. Khuha Chaikhawat's son, Puranamal, along with two others, was injured in this melee. Shaikh Bahauddin Badayuni was cut in two by this insane man and was ultimately killed by a servant of Muzaffar Khan. The princes regretted the event when they learnt about it.[124] Akbar was astonished and the princes were ashamed of this occurrence.[125] As these princes were innocent, Akbar's good will did not suffer.[126] They were returned to Surjan[127] with an imperial assurance for the Rao's safety[128] provided he waited upon the emperor.[129] Joyously the princes returned to the fort.[130] Now Surjan, to save his face,[131] solicited Akbar for some befitting imperial escort to lead him to the imperial presence.[132] Akbar sent Hussain Quli Khan[133] who then held the

119. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 2269.
120. Masir, II/91.
121. Akbar Nama II/464; Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab. II/355; Ain. I/449. Farishta does not mention the visit of the princes to the court.
122. Tab. II/355.
123. Ain., I/449.
124. Akbar Nama II/494-5; Masir II/917-8. See also Ain. I/449.
125. Akbar Nama II/495. See also Masir. II/918.
126. Ain. I/449; Masir II/918.
127. Ain. I/450.
128. Tab. II/365; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
129. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.
130. *ibid*, Elliot V/176.
131. Akbar Nama II/495.
132. *ibid*, II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176; Masir. II/918. See also Ain. I/450.
133. Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi. Elliot V/176; Akbar Nama II/495.

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title of Khan Jahan,[134] to assure,[135] comfort[136] and bring Surjan to the court.[137] As Hussain Khan approached near the fort, Surjan came forward to meet him and carried him to his residence where the Khan was hospitably treated.[138] Surjan was presented before the emperor to pay his homage, along with suitable presents and the keys of the fort of gold and silver.[139] Akbar treated him with great consideration.[140] Surjan requested the emperor through the courtiers[140] for 3 days time for evacuation of his own[140] and his followers' families and property from the fort, [141] thereafter it was to be made over to the imperial officers.[142] The request was granted[143] on the stipulation that the sons of the Rao should be left as hostages.[144] After 3 days[145] Surjan came out of the fort with his family and baggage[146] on March 21, 1569 A.D.[147] However, Savant Singh Chauhan refused to surrender the fort in spite of several temptations by Bhagwandas and Akbar and died fighting the enemy with his small band of followers.[148] Surjan was permitted by the Mughals to leave the place unmolested.[149] The fort fell in the hands of the Mughals with all its ammunition,[150] granaries and stores.[151] Akbar conferred it upon Mihtar Khan.[152] Next day, Akbar entered into the fort and personally inspected its defences.[153] Then the army was ordered to return to Agra under Khwaja Amin (who had the title of Khwaja Jahan) and Muzaffar

134. Tab. II/355. See Ain., item 24.
135. Al Badaoni II/111.
136. Tab. II/355.
137. *ibid*, II/355; Al Badaoni II/111.
138. Akbar Nama II/495; Masir. II/918.
139. Akbar Nama II/495; Masir. II/918; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176.
140. Akbar Nama II/495.
141. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176. See also Masir. II/918.
142. Akbar Nama II/495; Masir. II/918.
143. Akbar Nama II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176.
144. Akbar Nama II/495.
145. *ibid*, II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176; Masir. II/918.
146. Akbar Nama II/495.
147. Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/222. Nensi (I/111) gives March 23, 1568 A.D. for it.
148. Vansha Bhaskar, p. 1169-70.
149. Farishta II/233.
150. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176.
151. Akbar Nama II/495.
152. Tab. II/355; Ain. I/459.
153. Akbar Nama II/495-6; Tab. II/355.

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Khan;[154] and the emperor himself proceeded to Ajmer for thanksgiving to the Khwaja for this victory.[155] Akbar conquerred Ranthambhor in one month while Allauddin took one year for it.[156] From Ajmer Akbar made for Amber[157] and reached Agra on May 11, 1569 A.D.[158] The chronogram of this victory was found in the word 'Victory' or 'They took the fort quickly',[159] both yielding 976 (A.H.), the year of the conquest. After reaching Agra, Akbar built two images of Jaimal and Patta, representing them on elephants and one of Surjan, showing him with the face of a dog,[160] a fittest symbol of the mentality of selling the master's trust for a loaf of bread. In this way after governing the fief and fort of Ranthambhor on behalf of Udai Singh for about 9 years, Surjan surrendered it to Akbar.[161] Surjan's eldest son Duda went to Rana Udai Singh straight from Ranthambhor and got some daily allowance for his maintenance.[162]

There is no unanimity amongst the Muslim chroniclers about the date of the surrender of the fort of Ranthambhor to Akbar by Surjan. Al Badaoni[163] and Nizamuddin Ahmad[164] hold that the fort was surrendered for the occupation of the imperial officers on the 3rd day of Shawwal 976 A.H., i.e., March 22, 1569 A.D. while Akbar Nama[165] and Maulana Ahmad[166] hold that Surjan presented himself before Akbar on March 22, 1569 A.D. and the fort was surrendered three days later—i.e., on March 25, 1569 A.D. The views of Al Badaoni and Nizamuddin are more reliable. One day

154. Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/111.
155. Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/111; Akbar Nama II/496.
156. Akbar Nama II/495. Alauddin Khilji had captured the fort of Ranthambhor from Hammir Deo Chauhan (Nensi II/483) on Tuesday, July 11, 1310 A.D. (Kavi Rao: Kavitta Sanga ra, verses, see A.B.G. Tiwari: *ABORI*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 41 n.).
157. Akbar Nama II/496.
158. *ibid*, II/497; Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/111.
159. Al Badaoni II/222.
160. Nensi I/111. In Mewar also Surjan was greatly codemned for this unchivalrous surrender to Akbar.
161. Nensi's view (1/111) that Surjan held Ranthambhor for 14 years is incorrect.
162. Nensi I/111.
163. Al Badaoni II/111.
164. Tab. II/355.
165. Akbar Nama II/495.
166. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176.

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before Id, i.e., on March 18, 1569 A.D. Duda and Bhoj would have appeared before the emperor because Akbar had threatened an assault on the day of Id.[167] Naturally, next day the Rao would have made his homage to Akbar. If the views of Abul Fazl and Maulana Ahmad be accepted, it is difficult to explain the lapse of three days between the appearance of the princes and the appearance of Rao. The time being very critical Akbar would not have permitted three days to Surjan which he could profitably use, due to cease-fire, in strengthening the defences of the battered fort. So on March 19 Surjan would have made his appearance in the imperial court and on March 22, 1569 A.D. the fort was surrendered to the imperialists.

167. cf. Akbar Nama II/494; Masir. II/917.

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Jahangir Farmans in Jaipur Archives

BY

MURARI LAL MATHUR

Assist. Director of Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur

Jaipur Rulers and Mughals had personal and official relations right from the period of Akbar to Aurangzeb and onwards. A great importance was given to Jaipur Rulers by the Mughal Emperors. Akbar patronized Bharmal, Bhagwan Das and Mansingh, while Mirza Raja Jai Singh played a very important role in times of Jahangir, Shahajahan and Aurangzeb. All these personalities had a deep regard for the Emperors. They were given the highest jobs which could otherwise be given to the royal princes. In return these princes showed great enthusiasm for all the royal activities both in administration and in fields of battles. Most of them were having big Mansabs and were considered trustees of the empire. Raja Mansingh, Mirza Raja Jaisingh and latter Sawai Jaisingh were pillars of the empire in their own times. With such good relations naturally a lot of correspondence was going on between the Emperors, and the rulers. A part of this correspondence is preserved in Jaipur Archives. Valuable documents throwing light on the various historical events are also available both in Persian and Rajasthani scripts. The documents in Jaipur Archives exist under the following categories.

1. Farmans and Nishans
2. Akhbarat
3. Vakil Reports to Maharaja in Persian
4. Vakil Reports to Maharaja in Hindi
5. Vakil Reports to Officials in Persian
6. Vakil Reports to Officials in Hindi
7. Khatut Maharaja in Persian
8. Khatut Maharaja in Hindi
9. Khatut Officials in Hindi
10. Khatut Officials in Persian
11. Kharita in Hindi

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12. Kharita in Persian
13. Draft Kharitas in Hindi
14. Draft Kharitas in Persian
15. Applications to the Maharajas in Hindi
16. Letters of officials
17. Arastta
18. Waqaya
19. Barat
20. Awarza
21. Roznamcha
22. Council Records
23. Walter Sabha (Modern Departments-Revenue, Police etc.)
24. Shalmat Record
25. Amber Record
26. Correspondence regarding Shivaji's visit at Agra to Jaipur Camp
27. Kapatduwara Record

Out of the above documents the most important letters are in the form of Farmans addressed by the Mughal Emperors to the Maharajas. A farman was only addressed by the Emperor in the form of an order or a complimentary letter giving certain important information or important messages regarding administration or a battle. If a Mughal prince addressed such a letter, it was known as Nishan. A Prince also by authority of the Emperor could instruct or order the Maharajas or Princes of the states. There are about 257 Farmans including Nishans. Here details of Farmans and Nishans of Jahangir's period only would be dealt with. There are in total 21 Farmans including Nishans of Jahangir's period addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh. Out of them 17 are Farmans and 4 Nishans. They relate to the period 1622-1627 A. D. Out of these only one Farman (addressed by Noor Jahan) is of 1622, four of 1623, three of 1624, six of 1625, four of 1626 and two of 1627. These Farmans relate to the period when Mirza Raja Jai Singh was only in boyhood and was not more than 16 years of age. Right from the period of Akbar to that of Jahangir campaign against the Deccan was strongly pursued. Mirza Raja Jai Singh in his very early age was asked to go to Deccan by Jahangir along with the royal prince, and Khan Jahan was appointed as guardian and commander-in-chief to the prince. Two of the Farmans written in 1627 were sent by Prince

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Khurram and Dawarbaksh informing about the sad demise of Jahangir and their accession to the throne respectively. This was the time when the contest for the throne was to be decided in the heated crisis created by Noor Jahan.

The farmans of the Mughal times are the fine specimen of Persian literature. The language used is of super quality. It is flowery, graceful and the oriental beauty permeats them throughout. For the beauty of style they can be produced as the fine specimen of any literature of the world. The phrases are well ornate and the words are appropriately-set. But they follow a deviation from the modern Persian. The modern Persian is less figurative and observes less ceremonies in writings. The reason is quite simple. The modern languages are the product of Democracy. They reflect upon the time and give a realistic picture of a democratic life. In a democratic society all men are treated on an equal footing and there is no superiority for anyone-else on account of his status, wealth or riches. Flattery in language is not found to-day which marks a particular characteristic of a feudal time. Hence the frankness and fearlessness, the very blessings of democracy, has led us to direct, clear and unfigurative approach to our writings. But the language used in the past, say in the medieval times may be better termed as classics. Language of farmans clearly manifests the way of living tradition, mannerism and dignity of that age. It is the mirror of the picturesque life of the people of Mughal times. Since their advent in India, the Mughals were diplomatic and tactful. They knew that they were foreigners differing in religion, style, and culture. Therefore, in order to have a consolidated position it was absolutely essential to flatter or to praise those rulers whom they wished to keep as friends and strong subordinates. Hence the language is much flattering and figurative as to enhance the prestige of their subordinates. Looking to the addresses, it is quite clear that position of Rajasthan rulers particularly of Jaipur was very high. In a figurative style the Emperor has addressed Mirza Raja Jaisingh in too flowery language as—"

نمودة الاشباه والاقران لایتی الغایت مطیع الاسلام میرزا راجه جیسنگه

in order to gather his sympathy.

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This is a distinctive colouring tinged in Farmans. Here Zubedā means great and Ashba comes from Shabē, which means a picture of a ruler as we see reflected in a mirror. The 'shape' of a ruler is that of a ruler. Hence the full meaning of Zu be datul Ashabeh means the greatest of all rulers. Wal-Iqran means the nearest to all blood relations for qaran in Persian means the blood relations. Muti-ul-Islam refers to the follower of Islam Really Muti means those who obey and henceforth the imprest of the language.

The titles thus conferred indicate their faith and reliance in the Jaipur rulers and this tendency highly reflects upon the Persian used in the Farmans. The language represents the old and classical characteristics but is graceful and beautiful all the while, which is rare in present times.

According to Ani-i-Akbari the Rajputana states were at that time formed under a Suba. The Suba consisted of all major states. They were kept under a Subedar with headquarters at Ajmer. This was done as all the states could easily be controlled from Ajmer which is the centre of Rajasthan. This strategic importance of Ajmer was felt in a similar manner by the British Government also. The Britishers kept Residents in each state and a Chief Agent Governor General at Ajmer.

It was customary that Mughals made correspondence through their Subedar, who then passed the letters or Farman to the Maharajah of the respective state. But this system was not prevalent for the Jaipur State. All the Farmans and other correspondence were sent directly. This is quite clear from the Farmans of this period. This shows what respect the Jaipur rulers had in the eyes of the Mughal Emperors.

These Farmans were sent through different Risalas. They were carried by the bearer in the silken bags having beautiful flowery decoration over the cloth. These farmans according to custom were received in a special Durbar arranged.

Ink:

The ink of farman is dark black. It is hardly washable. It is perfectly durable as is evident from the fact that it has not faded till now. No one can imagine that the documents were

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written 300 years back. Who ever looking to the ink would be wonderstruck for its quality and durability.

The Mughal period has been famous for the art of calligraphy. This is depicted clearly in these farmans. Every word has its style and beautifully written. Hardly during these days in India we find such persons writing in such a good-hand.

Details:

Farmans of this period have got only one style throughout except there is some difference in the seal of Noor Jahan's Farmans. This would be discussed in details later.

As soon as you start reading Farman it starts with the praise of God "Allaha-ho-Akbar" "God is great" in the following form along with the address.

الله اکبر

زبدة الاشباه والاقران مفخر الامثال والاعیان

قابل الالتفات والاحسان مخلص بی ریا و رنگ

راجه جسینگه بعنایت علیه مخصوص و امیدوار گشته بداند که حقیقت و اخلاص و بندگی و دولتخواهی آن

لایق العنایة بواقعی معلوم نامیه است و ما او را از خانه زادان خوب خود میدانیم خاطر بهمه جهتی جمعداشته

همیشه از احوال خود بدرگاه والا معروض میداشته باشد از فرموده تخلف نورزد تحریرا فی تاریخ بیست و چهارم ماه الهی سنه ۲۱۳

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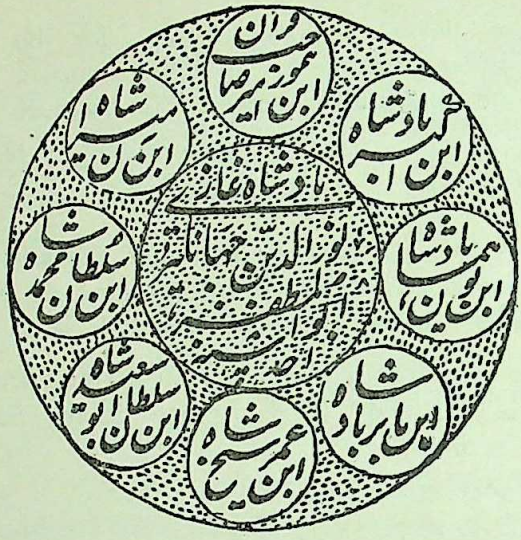
Seal:



On the right side of the Farman there is the Emperor's seal in round form. Seal is the most important feature of the Farman. It is the index of a Farman. Without a seal no one would care for the letter. Seal only could be the guiding force of the order. It consists of the names of previous Emperors prior to the present Emperor who had addressed it. This is in round form. In the centre the name of the present emperor is mentioned. This would become clear with the above seal of Jahangir. There is some difference of seal in the Nishan addressed by the prince. The seal of Noorjahan's Farman is different from all the other seals of Farmans addressed. This seal indicates Noor Jahan as Joint ruler of the empire. Noorjahan's name appears along with Jahangir. The names of other Emperors are not mentioned in round sequence as is mentioned in other Farmans of Jahangir. The seals of Nishans are different from that of the Farmans addressed by the Emperor. These previous rulers in round form are not mentioned. Only the name of the prince is mentioned alongwith the Emperor by whose courtesy it is sent.

Seals are decorated black when a Farman or Nishan is addressed at the time of death. This is indicated by a Nishan addressed by Dwarbaksh who informs Mirza Raja Jai Singh about the sad demise of Emperor Jahangir, but such indications are not available in the Nishan of Prince Khurram having the same

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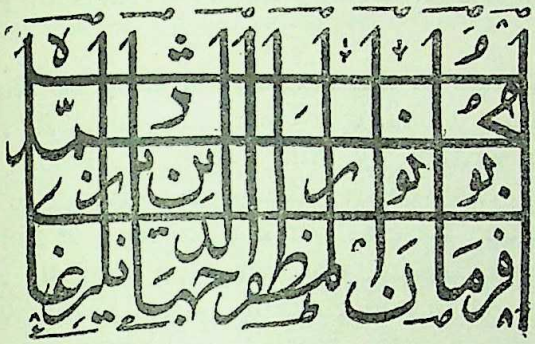
information. Hence no hard and fast rule for making the seal black on such occasions existed.

On the left side of the Farman a Tughra is written in the following form:—



This is a particular style of mentioning the name of Emperor who is addressing e.g. in one of the Farman's the name mentioned in the style is "Abul Muzzafar Mohammad Nooruddin Jahangir Gazi"; on the right corner below mixed in the words is written Farman signifying the same. A Nishan is mentioned in case it is addressed by a Prince. In Tughras of the two Nishans of Princes Dwarbaksh and Khurram the word Nishan as such does not occur. But this is not so in case of other Nishans of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's period. This Tughra is always written in the golden ink plus some red ink here and there.

Subject:

After this, the actual Farman starts. It starts with high sounding titles to the Maharaja. This set of address is available in all the Farmans and Nishans of this period. This is in the following form—"Zubedatul-Ashabah-val-Ikran-laiqul-Inayat val Ahsan Khanejat Jan-nisar Beryoring Jai Singh".

After this the main orders or instructions start. Even in the middle of Farman generally high praises are mentioned according to the status and views held by them of the Maharaja.

The Farman or Nishan ends with the words "Taghuluf Nevar zad" meaning by that everything should be done according to the royal instructions. In continuation the dates are mentioned in the Hizri era and also in the regnal year of the Emperor. On the back side of the Farman or Nishan the name of the person

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or Risala is mentioned through which it is sent. Let us take now each Farman to study their contents.

Farman No. 1

This Farman is addressed by Empress Nurjahan to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

The first Farman in this series is of Empress Nurjahan of 19 Amarda San Jaloos 17 i.e. dated 2nd August, 1622 A.D. This is a joint Farman written by Nur Jahan on behalf of Emperor Jahangir. Noor Jahan desires Maharaja Jaisingh to send all the amount of Ijara and lease as per list attached of Pargana Amber through Mohmmed Hashim, who has been specially appointed for collecting money of the said Pargana. The Ijara system prevailed in China and Persia also. Nurjahan further desires that unnecessary delay should be avoided to despatch the said amount.

It is not mentioned through which Risala the Farman was despatched. Probably this was despatched through the personal staff attached to Nurjahan. This document has been considered as a Farman not as Nishan, as Nurjahan in this period was a full-fledged ruler along with Jahangir and wrote by the authority vested in her. This is clear from the seal as Nurjahan's name is written below Jahangir's, and that it is mentioned for Nurjahan as "by courtesy of Emperor Jahangir".

Farman No. 2

This is a Nishan addressed by Prince Shahariyar to Mirza Jai Singh.

The second document is a Nishan as it is addressed by Prince Shahariyar to Mirza Raja Jaisingh. All letters from the princes are known as Nishans. Such letters by princes are written by the permission and authority of the Emperor. The seal of these documents is different from the seal of the Imperial Farman as names of princes and the rulers are mentioned only as compared to the seal of the Emperor in round form having names of previous emperors.

Prince Shahariyar informs Mirza Raja Jaisingh that Lokmandass is appointed as Kerori at Dausa. Maharaja should render all possible help to Lokmandass and communicate his progress.

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This is 6 Bahman San Jaloos, 17 i.e. dated 15th January, 1623 and "is sent through Amir Begh NOBET Vakaya". This is written on the reverse of the Nishan).

Farman No. 3

This Farman is addressed from Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Jahangir considers Mirza Raja Jaisingh a very useful person of the court. He has the highest regard and wishes him to the highest position. His Majesty was pleased to know that a battalion of able Rajputs was stationed with him for necessary help to the Emperor. Assures immense shower of kindness on all Rajputs participating. Emperor desires that the Raja with his forces should reach Delhi and see him here. He further wished that they might proceed with Khawas who was specially deputed to bring them all.

(This farman was issued at the bank of Ludhiyana River 17 Bahman San Jaloos 17 i.e. dated 6th February, 1623". It was sent through Abul Hussain Nobet Vakaya Jafar).

Farman No. 4

This farman is addressed from Emperor Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh and Girdrah Nagar-Bahadur jointly.

Emperor could know every thing about their love, affection and devotion through their letters received from Prince Parvez and Mubaruzuddin Mahabatkhan. His Majesty was highly pleased by their excellent work and desires him to follow all such directions in future.

(This is dated 8 Amardad San Jaloos 18 i.e. dated 20th July, 1623. It is not mentioned through which person or Risala it was despatched).

Farman No. 5

This farman is addressed from Emperor Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Informs that he had received the news of Maharaja's fight with Bedoulat and former's conquest over him. This information was given by Mubaruzuddin Khan Khana. Khilat and a horse is hereby sent.

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("This is 14 Aban Sanjaloos 19 i.e. dated 26th August, 1624 and is sent through the Risala of Abul Hussain—Nobet Nawis Jaffar)".

Farman No. 6

This Farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh by the Emperor Jahangir.

Emperor says that he had sent a special Khilat with Ahmed Begh increasing his honour with instructions to carry on the duties strongly alongwith Prince and Mahabat Khan.

(This Farman is of 26 Afandar, Sanjloos 18 i.e. dated 24th March, 1624 and is sent through the Risala of Abul HASSAIN Nobet Vakaya Nawis).

Farman No. 7

This farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh by Jahangir.

Says that Kutch Singh and Mirza Raja approached the prince for permission to leave for home. Informs that Rai Singh was deputed at Multan. Desires the Maharaja to execute his task sincerely and vigorously.

(This is of 9 Yuz Sanjaloos 21 i.e. dated 6th September, 1626 and is sent through the Risala of Mahabat Khan)".

Farman No. 8

This farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh by the Emperor Jahangir.

Emperor says that Fiddai Khan had informed him about his meritorious services. He considers the Maharaja a wise and loyal servant and further directs him to join the expedition. Desires that he must be clear in his mind and not to be misled by certain persons.

(This is of 9 Aban Sanjaloos 20 i.e. dated 31st October, 1624 A.D.).

Farman No. 9

This Farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh by the Emperor Jahangir.

Emperor desires Maharaja to act according to the instructions of Khan-i-jahan who has been appointed as guardian of the Prince and Commander in chief of Deccan campaign.

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(This is of 7 Tir Sanjaloos 20 i.e. dated 7th June, 1625 and is despatched through the Risala Abul Hussain Vakaya Navis)".

Farman No. 10

This Farman is addressed to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jaisingh by Emperor Jahangir.

The Maharaja has been instructed strictly to follow Khan-i-Jahan who has been appointed as Commander of Forces. It has been strictly notified not to follow Khan-i-Khana and whoever follows would lose his Jagir.

(This is of 6 Yuz Sanjaloos 20 i.e. dated 7th August, 1625 A.D.).

Farman No. 11

This Farman is addressed to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jaisingh by Emperor Jahangir.

The Emperor directs the Maharaja to follow Khani Jahan. He has not liked Jai Singh's attitude for not following Khan Jahan. Directs Maharaja to go to Khan-i-jahan and work on his advice failing which warns for his confiscation of Jagir and Mansab.

(This is of 22 Yuz Sanjaloos 20 i.e. dated 23rd August 1625).

Farman No. 12

This Farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jai Singh from Empress Noorjahan.

Empress Noor Jahan was highly pleased to know through Fidai Khan "Imadatulmulk" that Maharaja had separated himself from Mahbat Khan. She blesses him and expects his similar attitude for the Emperor Jahangir in future. She also instructs the Maharaja to follow Khan Jahan for Royal favours".

(This is of 11 Aban Sanjaloos 20 i.e. dated 22nd October, 1625 A.D.).

Farman No. 13

This Farman is addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh from Emperor Jahangir.

Application of Maharaja through Fidai Khan reflecting his attitude of true love and affection and obedience was received

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by the Emperor. Khana-i-jahan should be considered in all respects Commander of the Royal Forces, a tutor and a guardian which would win royal favours for him in future.

(This is of 3 Aban Sanjaloos 20 dated 10th November, 1625 and was despatched through the Risala of Abul Hussain Nobet Vakaya).

Farman No. 14

This Farman is addressed from Emperor Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Emperor informs that Indantmulak Fidai Khan is sent for consolation of people. He should be followed in all respects.

(This is of 30 Aban Sanjaloos 20 i.e. 10th November, 1625 A.D.).

Farman No. 15

This Farman is addressed from Emperor Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Emperor appreciates the services of Maharaja rendered to Fidai Khan as reported. Desires him to obey and work on consultation with the prince and Khanjahan.

(This is of 17 Bahman Sanjaloos 20 i.e. 23rd January, 1626 A.D. and is sent through the Risala of Abul Hussain Nobet Vakaya).

Farman No. 16

This Farman is addressed from Emperor Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

The Emperor was pleased to note the Maharaja's faithful and obedient attitude as praised by Mubaruzuddin Muhabat Khan. Wished Maharaja to act in the same manner for royal favours.

(This is of 15 Farwadin Sanjaloos 21 i.e. dated 26th March, 1626).

Nishan No. 17

This is addressed from the Prince Khurram to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

This is the Nishan addressed from the Prince Khurram to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. States Ram Kishan while presenting himself to the Emperor reported about Maharaja's love and affection.

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This has increased esteem and respects for him. Rajputs have been considered as highly faithful to the Mughals and it is only for these reasons the previous generations of Mughals respected them. It is only in view of such relations Emperor wishes the Maharaja to be on their side and increase the mutual love and affection. Assures Maharaja that his education will be imparted in the same manner as of Man Singh. Gopal Das should be treated as a trustee of the Emperor and regarded in high esteem.

(This is of 26 Raja Sanjaloos 21 i.e. dated 13th April, 1626 A.D.).

Farman No. 18

This Farman is addressed from Jahangir to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Emperor informs about Umber's death. A great chance has come. Orders that the Raja must use all his forces to put down conspiracies. Raja Sarang Deo could not be spared as impression of high preparation of war was not to be given. But now since he has been sent Maharaja should follow him in all respects. Raja Saran Deo should be considered as Emperor's true representative. Informs about his visit at Ajmer.

(This is dated 28 28 Uhurdad Sanjaloos 21 i.e. dated 11th June, 1626 A.D.).

Nishan No. 19

This is a Farman addressed by Noorjahan to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Praises Maharaja as one of her loyal servants and wishes him to report about his affairs without fear. Further directs him to serve loyally.

(This is of 24 Ahan Sanjaloos 22 i.e. dated 6th October, 1626 A.D.).

Nishan No. 20

This is a Nishan addressed by Noorjahan Begum to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

Maharaja's request for attending court was not agreed due to some grave circumstances of war etc. Considers proper for him to stay where he was.

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(This is of 21 Rabiulawal Sanjaloos 22 i.e. dated 25th December, 1626 A.D.).

Nishan No. 21

This is Nishan addressed by Prince Dwarbaksh to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

This informs Maharaja about the sad demise of Emperor Jahangir. Noorjahan Begam and faithful nobles of the court saw the goodness of the Empire in giving consent to his ascending the throne on 17th Mah Aman. He ascended the throne accordingly and passed royal orders to all well wishers of the Empire for necessary obedience. Having known this fact, the Maharaja must feel grateful to God for fulfillment of his desires. The Emperor desires him to shoulder responsibility in right-earnest. All Vakils have been informed accordingly.

(This is of 24 Aban Sanjaloos 22 i.e. dated 25th June, 1627 A.D.).

Nishan No. 22

This is a Nishan from Prince Khurram to Mirza Raja Jaisingh.

This Nishan informs about his accession to the throne on the auspicious day of 10 Azarmab for the well being of the people. Directs the Maharaja to execute the task more zealously. Further desires to give it a top priority importance and not to act against the royal wishes.

(This is of Rabi ul-Awal Sanjaloos 21 i.e. dated 20th November, 1627 and is sent through Mubaruzuddina Khan Khan Bahadur Siphasalar).

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Reviews

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD IRWIN—1926-31 by S. Gopal.

It is not always easy to assess dispassionately the events and personalities of recent history. The difficulty is all the greater in respect of epochs like the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin which excited deep emotions among contemporaries. Sri S. Gopal has attempted this delicate task and has aimed at presenting an impartial account of the pro-consulship of a recent Viceroy of India.

Lord Irwin's viceroyalty opened with certain extraordinary difficulties. When he landed in Bombay in April 1926, fierce communal riots were in full swing in Calcutta. The Viceroy made a fervent appeal to the parties concerned, but in vain. Soon Irwin had to face the popular excitement caused by the appointment of the 'all-white' Statutory Commission, which, despite the theoretical justification, aroused the united opposition of the Moderates under Sapru and the Congress Party under Motilal Nehru. Hartals and other hostile demonstrations greeted the Commission wherever they went. Racial antipathy mounted high and was aggravated by extraneous incidents like the publication of Mayo's "Mother India", a malicious attack on Indian traditions and social life. Meanwhile, an arbitrary increase in the land revenue assessment led to the no-tax campaign at Bardoli. Feelings ran high and the agitation had to be resisted by stern measures. Gandhiji threw himself into the struggle and the Salt Satyagraha and the Civil Disobedience movement followed.

It must be said to the great credit of Lord Irwin that he faced these problems with sympathy and understanding. A deep scholar and an intensely religious person, Irwin brought to bear his learning and nobility of character on the solution of these thorny problems. He had devoted the earlier part of his Viceroyalty to the deep study and understanding of the Indian situation. Ultimately Irwin took a bold step in order to tide over the crisis by carrying the 'Conference method' to its logical conclusion. Releasing the Congress leaders, he arranged for Gandhiji's interview with him, and after prolonged negotiations there appeared the momentous 'Gandhi—Irwin Pact', which helped the active participation of the Congress in the Round Table Conference.

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Though Irwin was acting with the approval of the Home Government, there is little doubt that the settlement of important issues like the Bardoli Satyagraha or the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 bore the impact of Irwin's personality. The Viceroy's actions were criticised on the one hand by diehard politicians of Britain and on the other, by the extremist nationalists of India. But finally his sincerity and courage of conviction triumphed, 'Character was the keel of the Viceroyalty'. None will dispute the author's conclusion that, 'today free from distorting emotion and prejudice, we can see that Irwin's policy was overwhelmingly right and that he did more than most other men of his time to keep alive the faith of the two peoples in each other'.

But it is important to realise that Irwin's success was helped not a little by Gandhiji's sense of moderation and spirit of accommodation. However, Gandhiji's demand for an impartial inquiry into the government's atrocities like the lathi charge on a procession of women at Borsad—'official inhumanity against wholly defenceless and innocent women'—can by no means be dismissed as 'clever tactics', which the author has done. Though Gandhi's request was not complied with, thanks to the timely mediation of Sapru, Jayakar and Sastri, the 'naked fakir', as Churchill described Gandhi, sought an interview with the Viceroy in order to explore the possibilities of an honourable settlement. Nor is it mere sentimentalism to realise the grim fact that the tension caused by the execution of Bhagat Singh would have resulted in the complete breakdown of the Pact, but for Gandhi's magnetic influence over the other nationalist leaders. It is idle to belittle the mysterious spell that Gandhiji cast on the Indian political horizon even during the darkest days of the struggle for freedom.

The author has touched upon the part played by leaders like Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai during Irwin's Viceroyalty. But it is doubtful whether the nature and importance of the valiant defence of constitutional privileges put up by Vithalbhai Patel have been given their due place. To quote one sentence: 'I will forget all your antics' (p. 41) from Irwin's letter to Vithalbhai torn from its context is to do scant justice to this stout constitutionalist.

The author has had the rare benefit of perusing the confidential records and of having personal interviews with Lord Irwin

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himself. There is little doubt that the book will be warmly welcomed in Britain and India. An analytical Index is furnished. The Appendix reproduces the text of the settlement published on March 5, 1931. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY.

GUIDE TO RESOURCES FOR COMMONWEALTH STUDIES—by A. R. Hewitt: (University of London, Published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies).

This is a useful guide for advanced research workers on the history and social studies pertaining to the countries of the British Commonwealth. The materials listed relate mainly to the sources available in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Mr. Hewitt realizes that this limitation of its range is a drawback but hopes that, if and when a future edition of the book appears an attempt can be made to make the guide fuller in scope.

Part I provides a general survey of the Resources in which the principal libraries and research institutes in the United Kingdom are briefly described. The nature of the materials as well as the bibliographies available in each of them are furnished. The data in respect of the libraries of London are full and interesting. A similar treatment regarding the institutions in Oxford and Cambridge would have improved the usefulness of the volume. Details concerning Public Archives, Private Papers, Papers of Chartered and other Companies, Parliamentary Papers, Official Publications, Periodicals and Newspapers available mostly in London are provided. The facility for consulting the back numbers of Periodicals and Newspapers is remarkable.

The part provides a concise survey of Library Resources subject by subject. A catalogue is given of the institution which contain the source materials in respect of History, Political Science Public Administration, Economics and Statistics, Law and Sociology, Geography and Collections of Maps, Charts, Atlases and Gazettes. Though Education is included here among the subjects the institutions providing source materials on Education have not been specified at length (p. 67). A fuller list is found to be helpful in respect of this important branch of study. While a list of

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theses as well as research projects now in progress is added, perhaps the most useful portion in Part I is section 9 which provides a Bibliography of Bibliographies and works of Reference in respect of the various countries of the British Commonwealth.

Part II gets deeper into the matter and provides further details of individual collections available in London. Oxford and Cambridge. Besides fuller information on institutions like the British Museum and Commonwealth Relations Office, London, the Bodlein and Rhodes House Library, Oxford, the University Library, Combridge, details of individual collections like those of the Baptist Missionary Society, Institute of Commonwealth Studies London are also provided.

Part III gives a brief summary of the facilities provided by the Universities in the U.K. for Commonwealth studies. A certain amount of repetition of matter found elsewhere is noticeable. But apart from this defect in arrangement this part of the book is incomplete. No detail regarding the nature of the material available is given. It contains little more than a list of the Universities as well as Research and Advisory Organizations.

But it is indisputable that this guide even as it stands at present, is useful for those engaged in advanced study and research. It is not always realized that much time is wasted by researchers in hunting for the sources. Works of this kind are sure to give valuable aid in the matter. However there is considerable room for improving the scope and contents of this guide. It can be made fuller and possibly exhaustive in respect of all the institutions in the United Kingdom. The matter may also be rearranged so as to provide all the necessary details concerning an institution at one stretch.

K. K. PILLAY.

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN WESTERN INDIA 1817-1830.—By Kenneth Ballhatchet, (Lecturer in Modern Indian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, London).

Based on original sources like the Mountstuart Elphinstone papers, Sir John Malcom's private correspondence, the Western

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India Mission records and the W. H. Mill papers, this book is the outcome of a thesis for which the author was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London. The title of the book is, however, rather too ambitious and consequently misleading. Primarily a study of the administration of Elphinstone, the book describes the changes effected in the branches of administration like land revenue and justice. The author himself states: "As Englishmen then thought, these were the main—almost the sole—functions of a government: the maintenance of law and order, the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice". (p. 104). Though these duties of the government affected the village life to a certain extent, it seems too much to describe the change as 'social', unless an undue strain is put on the conventional usage of the term 'social'. Even G. M. Trevelyan's comprehensive definition of social history excludes politics from its purview. Somewhere the line of demarkation has to be drawn, and administrative measures have to be distinguished from those introduced primarily with a view to promoting social welfare.

It is indisputable that Elphinstone's far-sighted ideas regarding education and the burning of widows were directly concerned with social life. Unfortunately, however, their practical results at the time were not great. These laudable ideals of reform touched but a small proportion of the people during the period under consideration. In respect of education, Elphinstone himself realized that no 'extensive progress' could be achieved while he was Governor (p. 274). As for *Sati*, its abolition was looked forward to only 'at some future period' (p. 275). In passing it may be mentioned that in the southern Konkan, out of fifty widows who had resolved to become *Satis* in 1819, forty perished, while five were dissuaded by relatives (p. 279), and the remaining five alone may be deemed to have been prevented through the intervention of the Government.

Elphinstone's work of pacification and settlement of the Peshwa's territory is described in Part I and his administration of the new Bombay Presidency in Part II of the book, while the Epilogue is devoted to a survey of the continuation of Elphinstone's policy under his successor, Sir John Malcolm. In respect of land revenue, Elphinstone was faced by a conflict of the Utilitarian ideal and the need for preserving the then existing landlords in order to avoid a revolutionary break with the past. Ultimately he allowed

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the jagirdar to continue in the north Maratha country. In the south it was found expedient to introduce the Village System, though theoretically the *ryotwari* settlement was the best. It must be said to the credit of Lord Elphinstone that he was not exclusively led by *apriori* considerations. What was found suitable to the particular region was adopted.

In respect of judicial administration a notable feature was the resurrection of the age-long *Panchayat*. Elphinstone called it 'the great instrument in the administration of Justice', and appreciating its supreme merit, tried his best to popularize it. He attempted to draw away people from resorting to the Munsiff's courts which had become popular particularly in the Deccan. Though he did not at first contemplate the use of *Panchayat* in criminal trials, he allowed it later when Briggs achieved some success in employing it in Khandesh. But despite the sincere efforts of admirers of the *Panchayat*, like Elphinstone, Munro and Metcalfe, the success achieved in revitalizing the old system was inconsiderable.

Sir John Malcolm continued Elphinstone's policy in respect of land revenue, and judicial administration. As regards education, Malcolm continued the Western pattern in a few institutions like the Elphinstone College. But he held that all educational institutions were not to adopt the English medium. His idea was narrower than that of Elphinstone, for Malcolm contended that English education was necessary only for those entering Government service. On the other hand, Elphinstone was of the view that the education of even the peasant should make him better able to deal with the problems of his life as a peasant. Even when he was reminded of the possible consequences of such a policy on the future of the British power in India, he stuck to his view (p. 249). This reveals the true man and his lofty sense of duty. He was dissatisfied with the progress achieved, as shown earlier, but it was for his successors to make leeway.

The book provides a good bibliography, an useful glossary of technical terms and an analytical index as well as a map of Western India and another of Khandesh.

K. K. PILLAY.

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EARLY HISTORY OF NORTH INDIA 200 B.C.—A.D. 650 by Dr. Sudhakar Chaṭṭopādhyāya, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indology, Viśvabhārati University. Calcutta, Progressive publishers, 1958. Pages xx and 317. Price 30 sh. Rs. 16/-.

This is a fresh study of the political history of North India from the fall of the Mauryas to the death of Harṣa. The author states that his feeling that in most current books 'archaeological sources have not been properly adjusted in the background of other available materials', and that scant attention has been paid in them to central Asian affairs, and the encouragement he received from the late Dr. P. C. Bagchi to undertake and complete the work on a definite plan suggested by him, were the chief incentives to him in his work. The present reviewer shares the author's regret that that fine scholar Dr. Bagchi has not lived to see the fulfilment of the plan he laid for Dr. Sudhakar Chattopādhyāya; who has done his work with admirable thoroughness, clarity and cogency. The book is a valuable contribution and is bound to engage the attention of future historians of ancient India for some years to come. They may or may not accept all the arguments and conclusions of Prof. Sudhakar; but they will ignore his work only at the risk of being considered purveyors of obsolescent knowledge.

Prof. Chattopādhyāya says: 'on many crucial points, I have ventured to differ from my *pūrva-sūris,* but I may humbly assure my readers that I have always been on the guard not to be led astray from the *terra firma* of solid facts by an eagerness for theorising.' There can be no doubt that he has succeeded in a remarkable measure in adhering to this rule, and that he has stated his new conclusions with studied moderation and reserve. He holds that Menander belongs to the first century B.C. rather than to the second, and with Taru accepts the view that he was a commoner by birth and not a Euththydemid as has generally been held; he places Maues later than is usual, about the beginning of the Christian era; Nahapāna's inscriptions are dated, not in the Śaka era, but in his regnal years — as pointed out by some other writers earlier; Ghirshman's arguments for a second century date for Kaniṣka, are not found conclusive or convincing, and the author prefers to treat the Kuṣāṇa emperor as the founder of the Śaka era; on the Vikrama era he seems to be inclined to accept the plea for a foreign, East Iranian, origin for it (p. 56), though

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he is not categorical about it; he holds that the Puṣyamitras, the enemies of the Guptas, were a tribe of Nāga origin (179) and that the Epthalites were more akin to the Yüeh-chi than to the Huns (191).

It is not possible to discuss in detail any of these and other interesting propositions that emerge from a perusal of the book. The documentation is quite detailed and there is an excellent bibliography at the end to assist the student who wants to pursue these questions further. In a few instances the author seems to have stopped short of his general rule of objectivity. For instance, he says: 'The Allahabad record, however, clearly shows that Samudra Gupta advanced in the South as far as Kāñcī, and we do not know on what ground J. Dubreuil drew the above conclusion' (p. 151) that Samudra Gupta was opposed by a confederacy of the kings of the Eastern Deccan near the Colair lake. J. Dubreuil's view is amply justified by the wording of the Allahabad *praśasti* which only mentions Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī, among other opponents of Samudra Gupta, and says nothing of the route followed by the Gupta emperor or the limits of his southern march. Again he seems to ignore some of the known data so often discussed by different writers when he affirms: 'But there is no proof whatsoever, that he (Rāma Gupta) was the elder brother of Candra Gupta II or that Dhruvadevī was his wife and later on became the wife of the Gupta monarch' (p. 166). Kālidāsa's reference to Bhāsa is well known, and its tone seems to go much against the author's view that 'Bhāsa may have been an early contemporary of Candra Gupta II'. (p. 171). Bāṇa's puns are celebrated, and one is not sure that Profesor Chattopādhyāya is justified in treating the references to Sindhurāja and Tuṣāraśailabhū in his references to Harṣa as altogether mythical (251); nor is it easy to see any ground for the statement that 'often there were clashes between Harṣa and Pulakeśin II' (ibid). The first quotation from the translation of the *Harṣa-carita* in p. 241 is puzzling as it stands because of inaccuracies in it, the chief being 'sieged' for 'seized'.

The name of the Tibetan historian is given as Tārānātha in the early pages, but later correctly as Tāranātha. There are a number of printing errors though the general get up of the book is good. It must also be said that the learned author's English embarrasses the reader often by the omission or wrong use of the

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articles and by the confusion between 'some time' and 'sometimes' which occurs often. But these are trivial shortcomings in a work marked by earnest study and honest thought.

K. A. N. SASTRI.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH 1766-1957, by Dr. A. V. Raman Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Popular Book Depot, Bombay. April 1958. pages xii and 384. Price Rs. 18.75.

This book constitutes, as Prof. D. R. Gadgil states in his Foreword, 'the first attempt at producing a connected account, over a long period, of economic developments in a specific region in India. The book covers two centuries; of these the first century, more exactly 1766-1865, formed the subject of a doctoral dissertation, which has been compressed and brought up to date in Parts I and II; Part III 1865-1947 (pp. 160-367) has been newly written. Unlike the earlier parts which have drawn largely on unpublished manuscript records in the Madras Record Office, this part rests mostly on printed publications and blue books, many of which, however, are not now easily accessible to the general erader. Part IV is a short statistical review of the economic data since Independence, with particular reference to the Five Year Plans, Community Projects and so on.

Andhra Pradesh now comprises three more or less distinct regions — the Circars, Rayalasima, and Telengana; of these the last was incorporated in the state only after the break up of Hyderabad in 1956, and has been necessarily omitted from this survey. The author, it is clear, has worked hard and diligently at the sources and every page of his book is full of well documented and authentic facts of economic history. The method adopted in documentation does not, however, aid easy verification, the index-numbers of references are grouped under each book or record at the end of each chapter, thus combining both bibliography and references, and this departure from the usual method of giving references in the order of their serial numbers must have meant some trouble for the author and also causes some trouble to the reader who wants to follow up the source.

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It must also be said that while a great mass of factual data has been brought together, they do not seem to have been properly organized and digested. But we should remember that the author has had to face the difficulties of a pioneer, those of dealing with several discrete regions with features of their own in history and economy, and those of making one book out of two sets of chapters written at a rather long interval. We must be grateful for what we have got in the form of an authentic source book of the economic history of Andhra Pradesh for the last two centuries. The place of the book in our slender stock of the literature of economic history is justly assessed by Prof. Gadgil; he says: 'It has not been possible for Dr. Raman Rao to give a full account of the special characteristics and developments of the various sub-regions or to present a full, cogent and connected account of the dominant trends over the whole region consistently over any large part of the period under consideration. However, he has been able to bring together a large body of information and a large variety of data relating to almost all aspects of economic life and activity of a large and important region for a period of two hundred years. And this in itself is an unusual achievement in India'.

K. A. N. SASTRI.

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE ṚGVEDA: A Fresh Interpretation, Part I (RV. 9. 1-15) by S. S. Bhawe, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Bonn/A/Rhein), Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Maharaja Sayaji Rao, University of Baroda, Sanskrit Series—3. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1957. Pages 8 and 105 Price Rs. 4/-).

This is the first instalment of a new translation of the Ṛgveda. The author bases the case for a new translation on the progress of linguistic research and other Vedic studies in the twenty-five years that have elapsed since Geldner's German Translation, the latest translation of the entire Ṛgveda, was prepared for the press, and on his own wish to take more guidance from Pāṇini for the interpretation of Vedic forms and words than has been the rule. He admits that 'specially significant fresh lines of approach to Vedic interpretation have not been recently introduced in Vedic research' (p. 3), and hopes only for progress in minute details

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leading to a more authentic though not a final interpretation of the Ṛgveda. He has divided his notes into two groups: A- exegetical and important notes prefixed to the translation of a hymn, and B-less important and shorter notes given as footnotes; but in deference to a suggestion of 'some scholars' he intends to abandon this division in the further instalments (p.s. to the Anthor's preface, p. 7). No explanation is offered for starting with Book IX of the Ṛgveda and the Soma-hymns. A comparison of the English rendering (p. 77-8) of the French translation of the first hymn by Prof. Renou with the author's English translations of the hymn according to his new interpretation and according to Sāyaṇa shows that the author's command of English is not equal to the ambitious task he is attempting. This is also apparent from numerous solecisms like 'the matter within brackets is as less as possible' (p. 6), or 'we have given a translation of Say.'s *bhāshya* on the hymns' (p. 79) by which is meant that the hymns are translated according to Sāyaṇa's interpretation in the *bhāshya*. The book gives the impression, on the whole, of being the product of what may best be described as 'forced research'; but it has the disadvantage of seeking, with rather inadequate resources, to find something new in a field that has been the sphere of concentrated research by generations of the most talented scholars of several nations.

K. A. N. SASTRI.

LA BATALLA DE SAN JACINTO: A Collection of Documents complied by Earnesto de la Torre Villar with an Introduction (Instituto Panamericano De Geografia E Historia, México, 1957).

This small publication is a commemoration volume, which is meant to be the token of the participation by the Instituto Panamericano De Geografia E Historia in the festive celebration of the first centenary of the Battle of San Jacinto in the sister Republic of Nicaragua. The Battle of San Jacinto of 1856 claims a place of unique significance in the national history of Nicaragua and also in the history of the other Central American Republics, because it is a symbol of the Nicaraguan independence and also a symbol of the old solidarity existing among the Central American Republics. This commemoration volume contains some selected documents with a learned illuminating introduction, in which the

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antecedent events leading to the culmination of the Battle of San Jacinto have been well summarised and the significance of the Battle for the Nicaraguans as well as for the rest of the Central Americans has been well explained. Towards the end in the volume are included five commemoration speeches, delivered by high dignitaries on the occasion of the festive celebration of the Centenary of the Battle of San Jacinto in Nicaragua, which also further add to the interest and value of this small publication.

R. B. JOSHI.

PHILOSOPHY IN BRAZIL: J. Cruz Costa's book "Esbozo De Un a Historia De Las Ideas En El Brasil" (Fondo De Cultura Económica, Av de la Universidad, 975—México 12, D.F., 1957), translated into Spanish by Jorge López Páez.

The book under review surveys the evolution of ideas in Brazil. The survey of the ideas consists in tracing the evolution of Philosophy in Brazil from the early beginnings up to the present time. This book is the third publication of the series "Historia De Las Ideas En América—Collección Tierra Firme", published by Fondo De Cultura Economica, México — Buenos Aires, with the co-operation of Commissión de Historia del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia and with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation. This series of publications will be heartily welcomed by all those who are interested in having a handy but dependable survey of philosophy in different Latin American countries from early beginnings up to date. The philosophical developments in South America are not known so well and are not so clear as those in the U.S.A., which is called by the South Americans (Latin Americans) as North America.

Latin America, covering about eight and a half million square miles (which is more than three times the area of the continental United States), consists of twenty republics with the national language of all, except Brazil and Haiti (where Portuguese and French respectively are spoken), being Spanish, Culturally, of course, the bounds of Latin America extend still farther so as to include the European colonies (such as British Honduras in Central America; British, French, and Dutch Guiana in South America; and British West Indies) and the countries affiliated to

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the U.S.A. (such as Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands) in Latin America, which are all only politically non-Latin-American. Today the Latin American countries as a block, knit together closely by historico-cultural and economic-political bonds, have been gradually gaining in importance in the present world situation. It is, therefore, bound to be of interest for all to have at least a glimpse into the ideological make-up of the Latin Americans. From this point of view this series is very important, because the publications under this series, surveying the evolution of philosophy in the various Latin American countries individually, have been providing stepping stones towards building a final synthetic and synoptic picture of the Philosophy of Latin America in general and as a whole—the Latin America, which, having certainly a lot in common with the U.S.A., is surely a lot different from the U.S.A. in its history as well as its ideological make-up.

The book under review, which is devoted to the survey of the evolution of philosophy in Brazil, is one such stepping-stone.

The philosophy in Brazil, on analysis, reveals two elements, one being the foreign element imported from Europe and the other being the native element. The foreign element is rich in its contributions of ideas to the Brazilian philosophical heritage. It is therefore, easily recognisable. In fact, the concrete contents of the Brazilian heritage of philosophical ideas are mostly and substantially drawn from the foreign sources. The native element has not contributed much in the form of important philosophical ideas to the Brazilian philosophical heritage. The contribution of the native element consists mainly of providing a mould, in which the imported foreign philosophical ideas were elaborated, re-thought, and re-lived. As a result of such elaboration, re-thinking, and re-living by the Brazilian thinkers the foreign philosophical ideas in the course of their historical evolution in Brazil assumed a form that is uniquely Brazilian in tone, stamp, and character, and constituted the Brazilian philosophical heritage. The contribution of the native element is not so easily recognisable like the contribution of the foreign element in the historical evolution of philosophy in Brazil. The author, who calls the foreign element as "transoceanism", has given a very lucid exposition of the contributions of the transoceanic and the native streams of thought and has maintained that these two streams have been present in the history of the Brazilian thought

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at all the stages of its evolution and have for long inter-flowed, inter-mingled, and inter-penetrated.

Obviously, of course, then the native "mould" of philosophising, revealed in the history of the Brazilian philosophy, is more important than the actual contents of philosophy in Brazil from the point of view of understanding the philosophy of Brazil. The "mould" of philosophising is well revealed in the mind that philosophises, and the author has given a very lucid picture of the peculiarities of the philosophic mind of Brazil. Among the peculiarities of the philosophic mind of Brazil the most prominent one is its highly pragmatic temper. The Brazilian philosophic mind has no taste for pure speculation. It is not much interested in weaving the bloodless cobwebs of abstract thought, which is a very pet game of a highly influential and dignified tradition in the European philosophy. It does not take much delight in uselessness. It does not take pains to discover and advocate the utility of uselessness, which has been vehemently upheld by a contemplative tradition in the Chinese philosophy. But the pragmatism of Brazil is different from, and is not borrowed, from the pragmatism of the U.S.A. The pragmatic temper of Brazil is a Portuguese inheritance.

"La filosofía nunca se presentó en Portugal como especulación pura. Decde antes de la gran é poca de los descubrimientos y de la expansion es, como afirma Joachim de Carvalho y Vieira de Almeida, de carácter pragmático.

Desde muy antes, pues, el pensamiento portugués se presenta señalado por una finalidad *práctica*. Gravitará en torno de una problemática realista, de *objeto preciso, limitado, concreto*. El sentido *de lo útil, de lo inmediato es lo que* en él de preferencia trasluce" (pp. 69-170). This pragmatism has very deeply influenced the Brazilian thought.

"El sagaz Joao Ribeiro comprendió el sentido de nuestro pensamiento cuando dice que "nuestro idealismo no se aleja muy lejos de la tierra ni va más allá de los más próximos planetas; fuèra de la poesía hiperbóloca del gongorismo de los epítetos, nadie se preocupa del infinito" (p. 170)." Expresaba bien Alberdi el sentido de la filosofía en los paises americanos cuando decia, en 1841, que" la dirección de nuestro estios no será en el sentido de la filosofía especulativa, de la filosofía en si, sino en el sentido

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de la filosofía de applicación, de la filosofía positiva real, de la filosofía applicada a las instituciones sociales, politicas, religiosas y morales de estos paises. El peublo scráel gran ente, cuyas impresiones, cuyas leyes de vida, de movimiento, de pensamiento y de progreso procuraremos estudiar y determinar". "La abstracción pura—agregabala metafísica en si no echará raices en América". Todo esto parece ser exacto (pp. 171-172). "Si consideramos el sentido de las ideas en el Brasil comprobaremos que son como instrumentos de acción, principalmente de acción sócial y política. La filosofía, en buena parte, estuvo en el Brasil al servicio de esta acción, como en el pasado medieval portugués estuvo al servicio de la teología y de la reflexión ético-política" (p. 170). "Solamente una filosofía de acción, solamente un pragmatismo puede, en estas condiciones, corresponder a sus necesidades profundas, a su edad intelectual. Y es su condicionalismo histórico lo que da sentico a su pensamiento. Es esta vida suya y esta experiencia las que deben constituir, en una primera etapa, el interes de aquellos que, abandonando la pretensión ingenua de hacer filosofía brasilena, quieran hacer simplemente filosofía" (p. 174). "La gran lección que se desprende de la filosofía moderna consiste precisamente en la afirmación de la auténtico. Esta lección sirve, principalmente, para que la especulación establezca contacto con la realidad. La inteligencia en los países americanos—como escribe Alfonso Reyes—no tuvo tiempo de romper, con los estímulos de la acción, como acontece en los países agotados por viejas civilizaciones, donde pueden edificarse torre de marfil y teorias estrafalarias conforme a las cuales el hombre de pensamiento que participe en la vida de su siglo viene a ser un 'clérigo craidor'.

Para nosotros la filosofía auténtica siempre estuvo ligada a la acción. Teniá razón, pues, Clovis Bevilaqua cuando decía que *si alguna dia* pudiéramos alcanzar una producción filosófica más significativa, no surgiría de las cumbres de la metafísica" (pp. 174-175).

These quotations are quite illuminating as to the highly pragmatic temper of the Brazilian philosophical mind. The highest and deepest demand of the Brazilians is for a philosophy of action, for a philosophy of life or for, so to say, "Applied Philosophy" as distinguished from "Pure Philosophy".

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Now as regards the other element in the Brazilian philosophy, the foreign imported element, what impresses one most here is the largeness and the variety of the imported ideas and doctrines. The imported ideas and doctrines, however, do not retain their original purity but are altered on coming in contact with the peculiar factors present in the new circumstances. And ultimately all these imported ideas and doctrines become adapted to and absorbed in the national intellectual culture in the course of the historical evolution of Philosophy in Brazil. Here too the basic and initial influence by Portugal on Brazil has been quite deep and lasting. This initial influence, exercised by Portugal on Brazil, has been twofold: the influence of "el aventurero" and the influence of "el jeauita". "Dos tipos pues aparentemente opuestos pero integrados en un idéntico sentido de acción, se enfrentan en la Colonia. De un lado, el jesuíta, empenado, en el sentido más amplio de la palabra, en el *conquista espiritual,* y el aventurero dispues to a la *conquista de la tierra* y de los bienes materiales.

Con estos dos personajes nuestra amplia fachada atlántica se va abrir a la historia. Ahí se esb oza, quiza, una contradicción de nuestra historia y, también, el antagonismo de los dos aspectos de la cultura en el Brasil. Se abren ods grandes y contradictorias líneas en nuestro destino: hay en una la vocación atlántica, que nos obliga a mirar hacia el vasto horizonte oceánico, a imaginar y a sonar con Europa. Y hay el sertón, que, desde el comienzo, desperto la codicia del aventurero y la curiosidad del letrado.

Cupo al aventurero y al jesuíta, la fijación de la cultura europea en nuestra tierra. Uno, abrirá caminos, construirá aldeas, establecéra ciudades; el otro, modelará la inteligencia brasileña" (p. 170). Starting with the equipment of such a jesuit tradition the philosophy in Brazil progressed through the course of four centuries, from the XVIth to the XIXth to that rich panorama at the beginning of the XXth century. The panorama, as it appeared in 1905, has been summarised by Silvio Romero as follows:—

(1) aquellos que fueron educados en las doctrinas de fines del siglo XVIII y pricipios del siglo XIX; (2) los que siguieron el sensualismo francés de Destutt de Traci y de Larominguière y que pasaron después al eclcticismo espiritualista de Cousin y de Jouffroy; (3) los puros sectarios del eclecticismo, como Gonçãlves de Margalhães y Moraes Valle; (4) los representantos de la re-

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acción católica; (5) los que se orientaron al principio hacia el agnosticismo critico y pasaron después al monismo haeckeliano o a las complicadas doctrinas de un filósofo poco conocido, Ludwig Noiré; (6) aquellos que siguieron las doctrinas de Comte y de Littré y; (7) los sectarios ortodoxos de Comte, esto es, *los ortodoxos dél Apostolado.* Finalments, otros tres grupos; (8) los evolucionistas haeckelianos; (9) los spencerianos y, porfin, (10) los representantos de "tentativas independientes".

However, out of these several currents of thought those that continued to influence Brazil still later in the century can be reduced to the three main streams, which are as follows—(1) "la corriente que corresponde al pesamiento tradicional, el católico, el cual sequirá las variantes de las ideas católicas en Europa", (2) "el naturalismo o "cientifismo", impulsado también por la vicisitudes por las que pasaban es as doctrinas", (3) "la corriente que corresponde a la tendencia del movimiento criticista de fines del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX, cuyos origines son aún europeos". It is, therefore, clear that Europe continued to influence Brazil even in the twentieth century as it did in the earlier century, though, of course, it is true that after the World War I Brazil began to show more independence in thought.

To conclude, the final impression that one gathers in the light of the author's conclusions, of the limitations whereof, of course, the author is well aware, about the evolution of Philosophy in Brazil from the early beginnings up to date can be recorded here in the form of pointing out some prominent features characterizing the Brazilian philosophical spirit,—especially as it is to-day. Today the Brazilian philosophising is characterised by a highly pragmatic temper, a greater independence of Europe in thought, a marked tolerance, an admirable open-mindedness, some susceptibility to the spiritual realities, a marked capacity for abstract thinking though temperamentally averse thereto, a greater interest in social questions arising in the wake of industrialisation, and a deep sense of nationalism (which, of course, is a very perplexing problem for a Brazilian, because almost everything Brazilian is drawn from the foreign sources—men, language, religion, customs, institutions, ideas, arts, industries). Today Brazil seems to be yearning for a philosophy of action, a philosophy of life, a philosophy of spirit.

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British Rule and India's Cultural Renaissance

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT,
Professor of History, Lucknow University

Now that India has achieved her independence, it may not be inappropriate to attempt a historical review of the influence of British rule on India's cultural heritage. Free India must necessarily take stock of the cultural legacy of British rule so as to be able to formulate her immediate outlook and future goal.

The period when British rule got itself entrenched in this country during the middle of the eighteenth century may be designated the dark age of modern India, for the old order lay prostrate with the disappearance of the Mughal Empire and the resulting vacuum was leading to a kind of cultural anarchy which reacted adversely on the people's morale and self-consciousness. The Company's early administration only aggravated the chaos, for being suddenly uplifted from the unromantic and dull monotony of factory accounts to the dizzy heights of political power, the Company's servants naturally got too much engrossed in personal aggrandisement to be able to think of cultural pursuits. They were out for shaking the pagoda tree, and they had no time or inclination for anything else. The outlook in those early days of British power was indeed gloomy for India, and a feeling of frustration seemed to weigh on the minds of thoughtful people everywhere. Indian vernacular literature of this period, for example, betrays the utter despair and escapism that had crept over the country's inner soul, and its passionately devotional or morbidly erotic notes revealed the temper of an age that was crumbling in the midst of the tinsel artificiality of a dying order.

But India's national culture has been a continuum always, and even in the politically decomposed and culturally disintegrated India of the eighteenth century a complete break with the past, was not possible. Besides, the John Company could count amongst its servants a few who did not blindly follow the principle o

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"get-rich-quickly-and-clear-out-of-the-country". These rare individuals in the Company's service had the healthy zeal and determination to study India's religious and secular literature. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, was the most influential among those early European students of Indian culture, and his patronage was of vital importance to the growth of Indological studies in that age.

In fact, Hastings's interest in oriental learning had a potent influence on the cultural life of British India. With his innate sympathy for Indian learning, he became, unofficially, of course, the chief patron of India's old learning. He took an unusual interest in Indian law, Hindu and Muslim, and got it systematised at his own expense. This pioneer work prepared the ground for its ultimate codification, and modern adaptation and simplification. A number of Indian works which were mostly in Persian or Sanskrit came to be produced under the direct patronage of the Governor-General to whom these were dedicated by the authors. Sayyid Ghulam Husain's "Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirin" is a well-known example of this kind. The Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings himself, and the establishment of the great Asiatic Society of Bengal was in no small measure due to his encouragement and patronage. Warren Hastings was such a warm admirer of oriental classics that he even proposed the inclusion of their study in the courses of the University of Oxford. He took a keen interest in painting and other fine arts, and his patronage was responsible for the success of a number of European painters who came to India at this time.

Hastings's example was naturally a source of encouragement to other Europeans who wanted to study oriental languages and institutions. The most distinguished trio among these contemporaries of Warren Hastings were Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and William Jones. These three scholars may be regarded as the pioneers among European orientalists, and their historic contribution to Indian learning is of permanent value to modern India. Mr. Wilkins who was well-read in Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit was the father of Indian printing, for the Persian and Bengali printing types cast by him made printing in these languages for the first time possible in India. In order to achieve success in a country so remote from Europe, he had

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to play the role of a metallurgist, engraver, founder and printer-all in one. Apart from printing, he acquired such mastery of Indian classics that he produced the first English translation of the *Bhagwad Gita* which was published in London (in 1785) under the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company. His translation of the *Hitopadesha* appeared a couple of years later. But Wilkins's achievement in the field of Indian epigraphy was no less profound and inspiring. His work, in short, marked the real beginning of Indological studies among Europeans in India. Mr. Halhed was an equally distinguished orientalist, and his 'Bengali Grammar' is a pioneer work of immense value.

Sir William Jones was, however, the most brilliant of the trio, and his place among the European students of oriental learning is memorable in the history of Modern India. He had proficiency in nearly every one of the many European languages, and, what is indeed remarkable, he was master of Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. His linguistic and also scientific attainments were a veritable marvel of that age, and it is indeed surprising how in the midst of his arduous duties as a Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court he could find time for his oriental studies. His most historic work was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the study of the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia. He became its first president as Warren Hastings gracefully declined the honour in his favour. His scholarship and also his expert guidance of scientific and literary studies under the auspices of the Asiatic Society produced results of a high order, and laid the foundations of Oriental research in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal soon became the proto-type of similar learned societies in other Presidencies. Through these societies the portals of oriental learning were thrown open to the West, and Europe and America began to draw some inspiration from the East—a fact which was testified to by such great writers of the last century as Goethe, Schlegel, Emerson and Thoreau. The Indian people's self-esteem which had reached almost the vanishing point under the onslaughts of Western culture had a new and unexpected stimulus in the European appreciation of Indian culture. Thus, "Asiatic" Jones, and his collaborators may well be regarded as the pioneers of Indian renaissance itself.

The work begun by these early pioneers was continued with equal zeal and persistence by Henry Thomas Colebrooke — an

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eminent civilian in the Company's service in Bengal. His studies in Sanskrit were as profound as they were extensive, and his researches in Indian philosophy, Vedic literature, mathematics and and astronomy entitled him to be ranked as the foremost orientalist of the early nineteenth century. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain which owed its inception to his personal efforts is one of his lasting contributions to oriental studies in Europe.

This enthusiasm for oriental culture was, however, confined to a select few. The Company's government officially took little or no interest in the promotion of oriental scholarship. The Calcutta Madrasa owed its origin to the personal interest of Warren Hastings, and its counterpart—the Sanskrit College of Varanasi was likewise established through the efforts of the local British Resident. The Fort William College for the Company's servants was similarly founded by Wellesley on his own initiative. These Colleges, however, made little progress, for, while on the one hand the Government provided insufficient funds, very few Indians on the other hand, availed themselves of the instruction provided in these institutions. Things came to such a pass that there were often more teachers than students in the oriental colleges. The Fort William College, meant for the Company's junior civilians, did encourage vernacular studies for a few years, but this institution was closed down under the orders of the Company not long after its inception. This failure of oriental education was due, *firstly,* for want of adequate financial support; *secondly,* to missionary opposition and propaganda; *thirdly,* to the new-born craze for English education among the enlightened Indians, *fourthly,* to the recruitment of only English-knowing Indians to the Company's services, and, *lastly,* to the misrepresentation of the Anglicists who had no knowledge of oriental learning and who ridiculed the oriental classics as "*of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank*".

While classical studies languished, modern Indian literatures, however, received powerful stimulus from European missionary enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Serampore missionaries, for example, did valuable pioneering work in the development of modern Bengali literature, Bengali journalism and Bengali printing through their translations of the Bible and other original works of a useful nature. Of these missionaries,

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William Carey, J. C. Marshman, and William Ward formed an illustrious trio whose educational, cultural and journalistic activities are of vital importance to the hisory of modern India. The Anglo-Indian Press which began its long and historic career with the first English newspaper founded by James Hicky in 1780 made a profound impression on the mind of the educated Indians who along with their Christian missionary collaborators finally laid the foundations of a popular press in India.

One of the noteworthy contributions of the Britishers in the days of John Company was their momentous decision to make the new learning the foundation of Indian education and that through the medium of English. The uninformed criticisms of oriental learning in Macaulay's historic minute would sound ridiculous at the present day, and Macaulay's arrogant sarcasm about "*seas of treacle and seas of butter*", or his impudent boast that a shelf of a good European library was worth the entire treasures of oriental literatures may not matter anything to us now, but the fact remains that the foundations of India's present-day revival as a nation were laid in the cultural movements which issued direcly from the fountainhead of English education, or indirectly as an inevitable reaction against the excess of Anglicisation. That English education deeply stirred the depths of the Indian mind and broke up its inertness is an undeniable historical fact. Even the reaction which came against the fast-moving tide of Westernisation assumed an expression which was fundamentally based on a deep study of the Western civilisation. The educational policy of the Government was neither progressive, nor comprehensive, yet it helped to create a large and progressive educated middle class which became the mainstay of India's cultural revival and political awakening.

Secularisation through liberalisation was, however, the main contribution of British rule to Indian culture. The new wine of Western thought produced a natural ferment in India, and it resulted in the growth of a secular outlook on all aspects of life. Even in the sphere of Indian religion, European rationalism had a deep influence, and prepared the ground for a new re-birth. Ram Mohun Roy, who is justly regarded as the father of modern India was, in spite of his unrivalled oriental learning, essentially a rational humanist who was deeply influenced by Western libera-

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lism and Christianity. His zeal for reform as well as revival in the spheres of society and religion was much too rational and much too impregnated with Western liberalism to have any direct appeal for the common man. But it gave the newly-educated middle class a spiritual balm in the midst of the destruction of old values and the old way of life. Ram Mohun Roy was a great reformer, but he was more distinguished as the founder of various secular movements in India. He was, in fact, the first modern man in India. But, all his movements—social, educational, cultural or political—owed their prime inspiration to the fount of English education. The movement of social reform and female emancipation was, for instance, a direct offshoot of Western humanism. The abolition of widow burning and slavery, or the legal recognition of widow remarriages reflected a liberalism which came along with the introduction of English education. Even Indian nationalism was the child of Western influences in more ways than one. The wave of cultural reaction which was marked by the Rebellion of 1857 failed to stem the tide of secularisation, and in the ideological conflict that came in its wake, Western liberalism won the day, and finally broke India's cultural isolation as also her intellectual stagnation. The "Rebellion" virtually marked the end of the old order and the old way of thinking.

The complete ascendancy of the New Learning was the keynote of India's cultural history after 1857. But, it was through the New Learning that India redeemed its lost soul. The first phase of this revival was religious and the mighty minds like Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Dayananda and Keshav Chandra Sen formed the motive force of this awakening. That this religious revival is closely interlinked with India's freedom movement needs no elaboration. In short, a new India had arisen with the impact of Western culture, and the varied religious developments of the post-Rebellion period, such as the re-appearance of orthodoxy among a section of the educated Hindus, the growth of synthetic eclecticism in the Brahmo movement, the intensification of the Muslim reaction associated with the Qadiani and the Aligarh movements, the birth of the neo-Vedantic order of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the inception of the aggressive revivalism of the Arya Samaj, or the philosophic and spiritual latitudinarianism of the Theosophical movement fostered the forces which all served to strengthen and inspire the Indian national movement of our times.

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European thought wielded a potent influence on the mind of Young India. The democratic faith of the Victorian age, no less than its positivism and humanism, moulded the thought-currents of modern India; and Comte, Mill, Carlyle, Mazzini, Kant and Fichte inspired new trends in Indian literature and political life. Even Western unbelief led to repercussions in Indian society in the form of intellectual agnosticism and moral epicureanism. Both the orthodox reaction and the modernist rationalism of modern India were thus a product of English education and British rule.

The post-Rebellion period witnessed cultural developments through official agencies in various other directions as well. The Archaeological Department prepared the ground for a renewed Indian interest in the country's art, architecture and epigraphy. The Education Department sought to revive oriental research on modern scientific lines. European scholars in India and abroad patiently reconstructed the missing links of Indian history, and made the Indians conscious of their glorious past. European savants gave a powerful impetus to the study of oriental philosophy and classics. The remarkable efflorescence of the modern Indian vernacular literatures was inspired and shaped by the European cultural influences of this period. Indian poetry, drama, and fiction underwent a process of modernisation, and found a new orientation as a result of the impact of Europe on the Indian mind. The growth of the scientific spirit was also a consequence of the new education that opened the way to the sciences and technologies of the West. This many-sided cultural awakening stimulated progress in all spheres of life—economics, industries, society, art, science, literature and philosophy. In short, British rule, despite its inherently conservative and mundane character, set in motion new creative forces in every domain of our national life. It may thus well be likened to the indispensable burning of the stubble as a prelude to the next crop.

This bird's-eye view of the cultural influences of British rule shows the steady re-orientation of Indian life and thought under the pressure of alien ideas. These influences were both positive and negative, and they operated both in the moral and material fields. The story of these diverse influences sums up the basic trends of Modern Indian history. This history has its lights and shades, for India has been moulded in different ways in different

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periods of British rule. The Indians entered the arena of the modern world in a mood of frustration. They began by aping the West. The early products of English education, in their first flush of enthusiasm for Western culture, paid almost fetish worship to all that was glittering in the Western way of life, and this craze for imitation assumed at times ludicrous proportions. The so-called Babu represents this phase of cultural mimicry and intellectual slavery. A reaction against this slavish imitation of the West was not long in coming, for Modern India was soon tired of this new Babu culture, and realised the futility of merely copying the West. Young India began to chafe under the weight of the new shackles of cultural bondage, and gradually sought emancipation therefrom. This feeling of self-consciousness gave birth to aggressive Hindu and Muslim revivalist movements. India then began to denounce the materialism of the West, and became conscious of its ancient spiritual legacy. Political and economic discontent accentuated this cleavage between India and the West, and deepened the cultural conflict between the two.

Divergent sentiments, however, soon dominated the cultural outlook of modern India. One was represented above all by Rabindranath Tagore according to whom the problem of Indian culture is in fact the problem of the world culture in miniature. The India that Tagore envisaged is one which cannot be restricted by the fetters of nationalism or any other *ism*. This India is said to be marching in quest of a higher ideal of universal brotherhood, which shall be for the gain of all humanity. The other school of thought represented by Vivekananda and Dayananda strove for the self-expression of India's own spiritual voice and genius for the salvation of the whole world. This spiritual revivalism has steadily developed since the latter part of the last century, and, re-vivified by the intellectual and philosophic asceticism of Sri Aurobindo Ghose in our own times, forms the basis of an intensely patriotic conception of Indian culture and India's spiritual mission. Yet another school of thought was represented by Mahatma Gandhi through his gospel of peace, moral force and *ahimsa*. Though he was the culmination of India's spiritual re-awakening, he was not communal, parochial or intolerant. His insistence on spiritual faith and moral regeneration marks a way of thought which free India and the world have yet to digest and assimilate. The clash of these conflicting ways of thinking has necessarily created a crisis

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in Indian culture which we can resolve in the light of our own traditions and ideals alone. Free India will after all have to stand on her own legs, politically as well as culturally.

The Indian mind which successfully stood the challenge of western culture in the last century is now called upon to bridge the gulf between the old village system and the new technocracy, and between the ancient spirituality and the modern cults of force and real politics. British rule introduced in India the industrial civilisation and commercial culture of the West with all the attendant evils thereof, but it attempted no harmonious fusion of the Indian and the Western ways of life. The inevitable consequence of this failure was a maladjustment of these two, which caused all the ills of separatism, reactionism and communalism. India today is on the threshold of a new re-birth. The cultural problems that lie ahead of her may not be easy of solution, but free India, we all hope and pray, will eventually adjust her age-old culture to modern conditions of industrialism and nationalism, and evolve a synthetic culture which will be her distinctive contribution to world-thought and world-culture.

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English : Should it be the — "L.C.M." of India ?

BY

BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI, F.R.A.S. (LONDON)

The history of English education in India is one of check and balance.

On the occasion of the enactment of the Indian Charter Act in 1833, Lord Macaulay significantly prophesied the role that English was bound to play in the history of development of the destiny of India, in these memorable words :

> "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system : that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European instituions. Whether such a day will come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English hisory".

The first proposal of founding a real forum for dissemination of English education appears to take root in the early efforts at the cultural development of India, by the then Christian Missionaries and the first Indian News Paper was: The Bengal Gazette, published by James Augustus Hicky. He sought to give, along with others, persistent fillip to the spread of mass-education in English about as early as 1780.

Curiously enough, the opposition against it was, at the outset, too great; and it was not accepted—lest it should brew up national prejudices—by the Board of Directors of the East India Company who considered the scheme somewhat premature.

The famous despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, soon after the renewal of Charter of East India Company in the previous year, brought up the question once more to the forefront. "Among many subjects of importance", proclaimed the epoch-making document, "none has a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to

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the nation, to be the means, as far as it lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge and which India may, under Providence derive from her connection with England".

In accordance with this declared policy, the foundations of University Education were laid in this country, as per "University Statistics—(1914-43)" of the British administration, quoted below:

Name of University	Number of Graduates
Calcutta (1857)	4,132
Bombay (1857)	2,240
Madras (1857)	1,606
Punjab (1882)	3,091
Allahabad (1887)	1,045
Hindu (Banaras) (1916)	393
Mysore (1916)	465
Patna (1917)	580
Osmania (1918)	181
Muslim (Aligarh) (1920)	354
Lucknow (1920)	501
Dacca (1921)	279
Delhi (1922)	342
Nagpur (1923)	470
Andhra (1926)	447
Agra (1927)	1,147
Annamalai (1929)	136
Travancore (1937)	360
Utkal (1943)	

LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	Total Literates	No. of Literates per 10,000	Males per 1,000	Females per 1,000
1921	14,998	642	1,275	154
1931	18,072	704	1,403	214
1941	37,016	1,251	not available	not available

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NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	Number
1920-21	180,380
1924-25	203,232
1928-29	232,429
1932-33	229,771
1936-37	227,940
1938-39	230,526
1939-40	235,489
1940-41	232,766
1941-42	228,053
1942-43	219,342

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	News-papers	Perio-dicals	Books (English)	Books (Indian)
1920-21	955	2,917	1,676	9,815
1924-25	1,342	3,018	2,283	14,591
1928-29	1,642	2,781	2,546	14,348
1932-33	1,594	2,693	2,691	13,401
1936-37	2,123	3,046	2,556	14,629
1938-39	2,752	3,301	3,296	13,137
1939-40	2,872	3,113	3,442	14,820
1940-41	2,609	2,880	2,841	14,117

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA

[From: "Indian Census Report—1941"]

Name of country	Percentage of Literary
Japan	96
U.S.A.	95·7
U.K.	92·5
India	14·6

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The above data, in brief, then, provide statistically, what may as well be called *mutum in parvo* of a prelude to the history of the progress of English Education, viz., education in the medium of English in India.

But, since the ending of the British rule on August 15, 1947, and after about two centuries' expansion of the public mind of India under its spell, has she, to quote Macaulay, "outgrown that system" now, in the real sense of its context or appearing too unwilling to demand, viz, the "European Institutions"?

Perhaps, sentiment against English, after the advent of Indian Independence, was as irresistibly strong as it was in favour of English in the days of British aggrandisement! This is due to the ultimate logic of events and, in accordance with the natural verdict of history.

But, if "repulsion", according to the Law of the Scientist, Michael Faraday, "is a surer test of magnetization" in material world, does it not similarly prove that this truth holds good also, in mass psychology ?

Our present day feelings of "repulsion" against it may therefore be — an inverse measure of our introverted or in-seated psychic "attraction", or rather adoration of the magnificence of the English culture and language — born of what may be called an 'inferiority-complex'?

And, so have not eminent Indian educationists like Dr. Katju, Dr. Bhagwan Das; Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, and other Indian doyens of learning, repeatedly emphasized the urgency of retaining English as a "top" language ?

"The English language" to extract, as for instance, a passage from Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's Convocation Address at Utkal University in 1955, "is one of the most valuable legacies that the Britishers have left behind for us. I venture to think that an ability to handle English should be a *sine qua non* for University men who will have to represent their country's intellectual advance before the comity of nation."

Incidentally, we may however, recall that eminent educationists of India have also addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister and the Education Minister of India as well as

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to Chief Ministers and Education Ministers of State Governments in August 1952, urging them to keep up an adequate standard of English even after it ceases to be the medium of instruction. The signatories to the letter are :

Messrs. N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University; R. P. Parija, Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University; P. Misra, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University; B. L. Manjunath, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University; V. S. Krishna, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University;; S. N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi-University; C. V. Mahajan, Vice-Chancellor, Agra University; R. P. Masani, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; A. R. Wadia, Ex-Pro. Vice-Chancellor, M. S. University of Baroda; C. V. Raman, Director, Raman Research Institute; H. J. Bhabha, Director, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research; C. N. Vakil, Director, School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay; V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University; Samuel Matthai, Secretary, Inter-University Board, Delhi; Mrs. Hannah Sen, Ex-Directress, Lady Irwin College, Delhi University; Mrs. B. Tarabai, Directress, Lady Irwin College; T. K. Menon, Dean, Faculty of Education and Psychology, M. S. University of Baroda; C. D. Narasimhaiah, Professor of English, University of Mysore; Leela Desai Dean. Faculty of Home Science, M. S. University of Baroda; etc., etc.

The letter runs as follows :—" There is hardly a day, when the language question in our Universities is not discussed in the press and from public platforms. A good deal of this discussion shows no grip of the real educational questions involved, and we as educationists feel gravely perturbed by the trend of events, and we crave leave to put before you our view-points as briefly, but as cogently, as possible.

"The Constitution of our Republic has laid it down that Hindi shall be the national language of India, but the use of English as heretobefore is permitted for the period of fifteen years after the commencement of the Constitution (January 26, 1950), and two Commissions at the end of five and ten years respectively are envisaged to advise the President as to the stages by which English is to be replaced by Hindi. It is the duty of us all, as loyal children of India, to abide by the considered decision of our

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Constitution, and it is the duty of every University to fall into line with the new set-up in our country. We were hoping that sufficient time would be left to the Universities to adjust themselves to the new requirements. We have, however, noticed a tendency on the part of some Governments, and some of the representatives of non-academic interests on our University bodies, to hurry this transition, to an extent, which in our humble opinion, is fraught with grave danger to our academic standards, and it is our painful duty to draw your attention to it. We are quite prepared to accept the position that English shall be replaced by an Indian language — national or regional — by the end of fifteen years after the commencement of the Constitution. In the meantime, the question of preparing text-books and translating a certain minimum number of books into Hindi and or regional languages will have to be taken up right seriously. This will naturally take some time, and fifteen years would be certainly more than sufficient, provided the Government of India and or the State Governments are prepared to spend generously several lakhs every year for this purpose, and frame a definite ten years' scheme.

"But as educationists, we see no possibility of our being able to do without some good knowledge of English, for any number of translations will never completely meet the needs of all the subjects taught in our Universities with the exception, perhaps, of subjects purely Indian in their content.

It follows that in the interests of higher education in India, it is eminently necessary to keep up an adequate standard of English even after it ceases to be the medium of instruction. It is from this standpoint that we note with great distress some of the State Governments trying to reduce the quantum and quality of English taught in our high schools.

"It is a regrettable feature of our present-day education in our schools that the standard of English has been steadily going down, which has very seriously affected their study of all subjects, and the low standard of our graduates has become more distressing.

Things are not going to improve by merely substituting Hindi and or a regional language as the medium of instruction, unless side by side we have proper books in the languages concerned,

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and our students are sufficiently equipped in English at least to read books in English with ease and understanding.

"If the study of English is killed in our country with an almost indecent haste, the work of a century, perhaps, on the whole, more good than bad, will be undone in a few years, and this will seriously affect the quality of our education. It is our earnest prayer to you to help the Universities to maintain our standards to our satisfaction.

We should also like to repeat that the Universities would be in a position to do away with English as the medium of instruction only after books of the requisite quality have been prepared in the new medium.

"We humbly request your close co-operation in the common task of producing graduates, who can compare favourably with the graduates of the most advanced countries in the West, and we can but look up to the Government of India and the State Governments to evolve a common policy so as to afford sure guidance to the Universities in their work". [From: *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, September 9, 1952]

The above memorial sent in to the Government of India by the *"Education—Britain Trust"*, so as to say, of the country, soliciting serious notice of the gradual worsening of the "quantum and quality" of English in the Universities and High Schools of India, reveals, but—then, how matters stand in the Indian Union after winning Independence! Yet, curiously enough, matters of linguistic culture and our education appear now to have been motivated rather—remarkably by political bias and cheap patriotic insularity. And, for obvious reasons the question of free India's national language has been given the full dignity of a top level and controversial issue both in the press and on the pulpit.

But the general opinion on the matter is sharply divided between two diverse groups, each professing to be a stickler for consistency, but conjointly though, adding its quota to the making of the general Babel on our language problems!

And, language zealots in each and every province or State appear to have been all too suddenly seized with a rather patriotic fever in writing text-books in individual provincial scripts and in

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coining technical terms in the national language—each suggesting different words for the same matter or thought; and our educationists, say, in dire, hopeless plight, sending across, occasionally, S.O.S. appeals to the powers that be, for halting the so-called captains of national renaissance!

What is worse, again, in the country's crusade of puritanism, it is not—so to say—feeling at all hestitant or apologetic enough in the matter of banishing settled words, which coming from foreign countries or sources, have much added to, and come to stay, as an integral part of the Indian languages!

Again, new terminologies are being minted in the national laboratories and artificially stilted vocables are being manufactured, perhaps, as the country's best innovations in letters and thought. But, is it not—as mentioned before—too precipitate and over-patriotic a move to cast away a treasure-trove acquired from the Empire-Builders through centuries of contact, devotion and diligence, and still cherished by some with the pride of a precious acquisition?

Surely, it is not a mean achievement to be able to attain mastery over a "foreign language", to earn renown as writers and retain communion with the world outside in philosophy, religion and spiritual culture, such as Gandhi, Tagore, Vivekananda and other countless Indian savants and exponents of the Eastern mind, have done so far, to further the bonds of understanding and concord with the West, so long!

Indeed, to be panicky of foreign influence and scared thereof seems to go against the tradition of the country which, like a living organism, inbibed and assimilated words and ideas from others and added them to its stock in all different ages of its history.

When finally, India closes her accounts, she may possibly, however, find her erstwhile conqueror discomfited in his own field and with his own weapons—in the bargain!

If we then face the fact and want to retain our intellectual, economic, political and cultural link with the world outside we must needs have to learn some leading language, at least, of the

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same language, i.e., English. And for us, one might think, it would be a wise course to go to the English language.

Its amazing richness is the result of its wonderful genius for digesting and assimilating foreign words, irrespective of climes, origin and philological complexities.

And, perhaps, there will be no gainsaying the fact that it is the acclaimed medium of exchange of thought and ideas of the population who inhabit nearly three-quarters of the land surface of the globe and that in it India has been, so to say,—from the statistical data as mentioned before—instructed almost to a faultless efficiency. Can India forget English which has yet been the official language of the Indian National Congress since 1884, when the Marquess of Dufferin, the Viceroy, and Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a Scotsman, ushered it into being, and created that homogeneous national unity, eventually culminating in the birth of what we find to-day as a sovereign democratic Republic ?

A proficiency in this language—for which India's great national heroes like Raja Rammohan, Vivekananda, Surendranath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naroji, P. Mehta, Ananta Charlu, C. Sankaran Nair, R. C. Dutt; N. G. Chandravarkar; G. K. Gokhale; R. B. Ghose; M. M. Malaviya; S. P. Sinha; A. N. Bose; Motilal Nehru; C. R. Das; M. K. Gandhi; Jawaharlal Nehru; Subhas Bose; etc., etc., have been acclaimed before the bar of history—may not altogether be difficult for the children of her soil—of whom, as per records referred to before, about 14·6 per cent are pretty fairly acquainted, at least, with a smattering of the three R's in English!

That education should be given in mother-tongue is obviously an incontrovertible fact ! But that is, surely, no reason why an undue stress, in indecent haste, should be laid on the medium exclusively at the cost of instruction. For, after all, is not instruction of greater importance than the medium? It is again argued frequently that English is a forcible imposition on indigenous education and that real education should eschew all elements of compulsion in it. But compulsion is not, as a matter of course, always harmful !

In fact, some amount of healthy compulsion appears to have been transfused in all systems of education, for the benefit of the learners, particularly at the adolescent stage. It is interesting, again, that when people talk of "One National Language"—in a

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land of polyglots—speaking no less than 225 dialects of intriguing characteristics and baffling diversities—nobody is repelled at the idea of imposition! If, for instance, "Bengalees who form the most linguistically homogenous people in India, point out, viz., that poet Tagore won the Nobel Prize in a "Bengali" work; or the "Madrasis" for the matter of that, put forward the counter-claim —arguing that Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, a "Madrasi", won also the Nobel Prize; and, if therefore, it is pleaded that the *Lingua franca* of India should be either "Bengali" or "Madrasi" in contradistinction to Hindi, the accepted national medium of instruction, as mentioned before—will not this contingent possibility be likely to jeopardise the very independence that India has won after about two centuries of "serfdom", under British rule?

That is, no doubt, as it should be, because this is the only way to evolve one's national language! Why, then, should our language worshippers altogether sneer at the thought of imposition of one language for *cultural* reasons and accept another for solely *political* motives—only to accentuate animus against the status quo, born of unbridled "linguarchy?"?

And—if not checked in its early career, will not that feeling of hostility, give a death-blow eventually, to India—as per the lessions taught by President George Washington in his "Farewell Address", viz., in the undernoted language:—

> "The Constitution which at anytime exists....is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government. All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberations—are destructive of this fundamental principle and of a fatal tedency" [Spark's Life of "Washington", Vol. II].

In free-India, does not sober-thinking, therefore, command the above prophetic lines of the Father of the American Nation as well worthy of acceptance—at the present adolescent stage of our nationhood and, persuade our countrymen to continue imbibing the fruits of an education, we have been pursuing on lines followed so far; and in the accepted medium of traditional instruction since the days of Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" as far back as

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1780? The medium of instruction—as submitted by the great bulk of the India's "Brain-Trust" — so to say euphemistically in a way —in the aforementioned memorial—no doubt, must needs be, changed to the *mother-tongue;* but this should be done, likewise, in complete accordance with the historic process of "check and balance", and should not, clash with the uninterrupted study of English for the homogenous development of the country!

So, can there be, any doubt that the abrupt switch-over to the medium of the *regional* languages—without adjusting the matrix of the basic pattern to it—may not only misshapen the entire system, but, likewise disrupt the very constitutional unity on a scale unimaginable and perhaps, far more unprecedented than the "linguistic squabbles" in the East and the West wings of "Pakistan", the conterminous twins of Ex-British India? As to the major languages referred to below, we had better quote the undernoted data from the Census figures of pre-partitioned India (1941) for the purpose of linguistic study of each province or State :—

Language		No. of persons speaking (in round number)	Name of "State"
1. Assamese	..	2 million	1. Assam
2. Bengali	..	50 ,,	2. Bengal
3. Eastern Hindi	..	8 ,,	3. N. India
4. Western Hindi	..	70 ,,	4. Do.
5. Marathi	..	20 ,,	5. Bombay
6. Tamil	..	20 ,,	6. Madras
7. Telugu	..	20 ,,	7. Andhra
8. Malayalam	..	1 ,,	8. Travancore
9. East Punjab	..	20 ,,	9. E. Punjab
10. West ,,	..	9 ,,	10. W. Punjab (Pakistan)
11. Kashmiri	..	2 ,,	11. Kashmir
12. Gujerat	..	1 ,,	12. Saurashtra
13. Bihari	..	20 ,,	13. Bihar
14. Kannada	..	10 ,,	14. Mysore
15. Oriya	..	10 ,,	15. Orissa
16. Rajasthani	..	10 ,,	16. Rajasthan
17. Sindhi	..	4 ,,	17. Sindh
18. Kherwari	..	4 ,,	18. Pakistan
19. Pushtu	..	2 ,,	19. ,,
20. English	..	1 ,,	20. All States

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The aboriginals of India, who numbered over twenty-five millions on the basis of the Census of 1941, hail from the following linguistic belts :—

1. Assam	1. (a) Naga (b) Garo (c) Kachari (d) Khasi (e) Mikir (f) Lushai
2. Bihar and Orissa	2. (a) Santal (b) Munda (c) Uraon
3. Orissa	3. (a) Bhuiya (b) Bhumij (c) Khonds
4. Central Province	4. (a) Gonds (b) Baigas (c) Korkus
5. Bombay and Rajputana States	5. Bhils
6. South India	6. (a) Kurumber (b) Kanikar (c) Irulan (d) Yanadi

Free India's immediate task, then, lies in a determined attack on extirpating the canker of linguism—Babel !

Anybody—who however, knows anything about the recent history of India—while admiring the leaders of these linguistic movements, of their passion to develop their regional cultures, must needs realize that their move basically represents the very antithesis of the Political System that great men like the late Sardar Patel had visualized and to a degree attained.

When India won Independence and the dominion of Pakistan took away a good slice of her territory, it was surely the integration of the States that gave to the country's map integrity and unity.

The vision and insight of Sardar Patel created a "New India" out of the ashes of partition, giving it an impregnable unity! Therefore, if the demand for linguistic provinces be conceded by the Central Government, it must succeed in putting the hands of the clock back and divert the course of India's natural history along new and hazardous paths.

And worst still, might it not too result in the evil of the multi-Balkanization of India, as also the unleashing of economic trends, *pari passu,* which would, perhaps, sap our vital growth and extirpate the national spirit, for good ? Is it not also unfortunate that the authors of the Republican Constitution of India failed to

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study the question before it was adopted by the Constituent Assembly ?

Surely, it is the constitutional provision for the creation of new States that is effectively sought to be used by the provincial language—'Zealot's, who fail strangely to realize the fact, *inter alia*, that the redistribution of States on the language-basis alone, is bound to rake up old feuds among a polyglot people which have been healed up, so far, through years of ceaseless strivings to achieve political unity and freedom.

Indeed, can the cry for language division and national unity of a country, like India, ever go placidly together ? She is a country of fabulous dimensions and once the centre is weakened, the edifice of political unity suffers considerable damage !

Linguism can but succeed in opening a Pandora's Box ! The floodgates of inter-State quarrels and litigations on a vast scale will open and overwhelm us.

Moreover, the carving out of States on the basis of languages, may retard the process, as well, of economic developments and choke the growth of agriculture and industry, too !

It also means a huge offtake in the revenue of public-administration and the vesting of authority in a number of State Governments without the financial resources to push through projects for the economic welfare of the people. Then as long as the Centre collects the income-tax, death duties and customs, and the States are over-weighted under the responsibility to run all the nation-building departments like agriculture, public health and education, will not the New States have to carry on with deficit budgets and soaring charges, leading ultimately to insolvency ?

And, in consequence thereof, will not these States, too, need millions of money to house officers, assemblies and other administrative appendages !

Again, is not the demand for language-provinces a direct challenge to the Five-Year-Plan and the economic policy underlying them ? No doubt, the Plans visualize the development of the national resources, human material or potential, cutting across all artificial barriers of caste, religion and language. But, will this be feasible, once the States are reorganized on a language-

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basis ? Then, the mighty assets of Nature, like coal-deposits, iron ores, mineral mines and water resources, etc., will have to play second fiddle, to the all powerful mandates of the linguistic—"King Canutes"—so prolific in this ancient soil !

For instance, in case of language States will there be not inter-State frictions over the rights of way, usage, etc., etc., respecting the appropriation and utilization of water resources, hydro-electric powers and irrigation-works ? Has it not been evidenced, as a case in point, respecting Tungabhadra River Valley, which is at present conjointly developed by Andhra, Mysore and Hyderabad ? For, purely language-States, again, it may be difficult to evolve a unitary national economic policy—much less implement it !

While one State may desire prohibition, its neighbours may follow a wet policy, leading to smuggling and border quarrels. There may, also, in effect, crop up fundamental differences between States in slabs of taxation rates. The Central Government possibly then can never dictate its policy to a single State, since any intervention may be interpreted by an individual linguistic group as a favour conferred upon its neighbour to its own harm !

Further, the cry for "living space" for linguistic States on the model of Hitler's demand, is not only at variance with all the ethics of progressive thought, but is also fraught with such explosive consequences as we have had experienced of late, in sporadic "outbreaks" in Bombay, Bihar, Bengal and elsewhere.

It may be pertinent to mention incidentaly, however, that to extirpate the cankers of linguism mentioned before, prominent leaders of Madras held a "Round Table" Conference at Madras on January 29, 1956 to "consider and discuss the Union Language Issue". The Conference which was convened under the auspices of the Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras, was attended, amongst others, by top-ranking representatives of various schools of thought like Messrs. C. Rajagopalachari, P. T. Rajan, etc., etc. It pssed a resolution:

> "that since all the educated citizens of India had adequate knowledge of English, it should continue to be the *official language* of the Union".

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We strongly uphold the Madras leaders' resolution for sticking to English, and we hope that sooner a persistent movement be started in India for her unitarian development in thought, word and deed, just to wash away the floatsam and jetsam of diverse languages, under the life fertilizing streams of a global language like English, the better for us.

No doubt to beginners, English seems a bit of a hard nut to crack with its unreasonable spelling and unphonetic behaviour. But, we feel that there is a definite necessity to-day for rationalizing English, for easy learning in this country, in the following directions :

(1) The adoption of a standard Roman script. All the Western languages, except German and Russian, in some instances, are written in the Roman script. Turkey has, to wit a case, *inter alia,* adopted it, throwing over-board the old script, in order to enable every one to read Turkish as easily as other languages, to bring Turkish into line say, with the leading languages of the world, and to remove the initial difficulty of the script for all foreign students of Turkish. The Japanese use the Roman script extensively in their scientific journals.

In India, the Roman script would help the study of the miscellany of languages, facilitate their rationalization and render their understanding quicker for the foreigners. The Roman script we conceive of, would be a very near approach to the ideal phonetic script of the Indian philologists !

(2) Simplification of grammar on principles formulated by modern expert philological researches.

(3) Reform of hackneyed cliches, spellings, ungrammatical idiosyncrasies in syntax, archaism, etc., etc.

(4) Adoption of concrete, practical, sensible, intelligible, pictographic, poetic and phonetic words in vocabulary, based on international technique in preference to the usual mode of learning in an unscientific manner of predated fossilised "lexicography" !

In the West, the Scholastic Corporation among others in the field—offers some scope in the instruction of "Practical English"

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in preference to a too academic type of Scholastic English—especially in the U.S., now-a-days.

(5) Introduction of the audio-visual type of instruction in English, obviating all so-called irrationally selected *nonsense* which is often a bugbear to the average Indian pupils, and any of other uptodate means of easy and scientific learning as in vogue in the U.S., the U.K., etc.

It may be, pertinent, however, to mention incidentally that Free-India has recommended the following "Three-Language Plan", with English as the Compulsory-subject for study in the Secondary High Schools in India, with effect from January, 1957:—

(1) Mother-tongue or Regional language; or composite course of mother-tongue and classical language; or composite course of mother-tongue and Regional language; or composite course of regional language and classical language.

(2) English.

(3) Hindi (for non-Hindi speaking areas); or, another modern Indian language (for Hindi-speaking areas).

As mentioned before, Free India contains about 225 languages and, more than three-thousand 'dialects'—barring those non-descript varieties of the tribal, aboriginal or transborder racial groups! Can, therefore, the proposed trilingual tongue of a Language, as referred to, expect in any way to meet the multi-purpose of a vast Polyglot Nation—that India is? If that be so, why not our language-planners, for the matter of that—make it a point to keep from importing afresh—the so-called "regional"; "classical"; "maternal" or "paternal" language—denominations according to their roots of origin—so as to create further Babel—rather concentrate upon a basic "One-Language-Plan", viz., by reforming, improving and popularizing quality English as being the only destined "L.C.M.", viz, (Language Common Mother?) of the free-realm—just to end that, far good and all?

It may be however, interesting to recall, that almost akin to the "trilingual" plan of India as mentioned above, there appears to be on the move a "bi-lingual" plan, started in 1951 by Jean-Marie Bressand and Mlle. Poulain in France under the name: "The Bilingual World". "Bilingualism" is thus the latest attempt

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to overthrow the language barriers which, contrary to all reason, continue to disrupt intercourse in a world which is, obviously becoming smaller every day, through improving communications and transportation facilities — by "encouraging the whole world to become 'English-speaking' or 'French-speaking' " in the bargain!

But, is it conceivable, say, that — supposing all English and French-speaking countries, were one fine morning to speak and write both English and French — "other peoples" also, would likewise be thinking of learning one or other of these twins in addition to their own language ?

Or, to speak in other way: would that at all do away with the basic difficulties of learning a "foreign" language sufficiently well, for practical purposes and, say, enable a Russian, for instance, knowing French to communicate with a German who has learned English ?

If that be so, as per the "Bilinguism" logic, would it not also hold good likewise the Indian "Trilinguism" Plan: that is, here too, viz, a *"Madrasi"* knowing *"Malayalam"* to correspond with a *"Gujerati"* who has learned *"'Bengali"* — would feel in a like predicament — in the absence of a common medium of expression or "L.C.M. (?)" as mentioned before ?

Does not, then, arise here — the need for a "universal" language like that of "Esperanto" ?

Its votaries, who now number about five-crore (Fifty-million) —in a world of about three-thousand languages as per the U.N.E.S.C.O. Statistics of 1954 — emphasize, however, that it is easy to learn because of its simple philological structure and that it is not open to nationalistic questions, because: it is neither English nor French; German or Russian; Sanskrit or Arabic, that is — "not of any one nation's language" and as such, may become common to all nations ! But this does not mean — so to say — viz, that Esperanto and a Bi-or-Tri-linguist may clash with each other in the bargain ?

Quite unlikely ! If, for instance, a large part of the world were to know English, even imperfectly, Esperanto, whose five-hundred and odd basic roots are drawn from "Indo-Aryan Family of Languages" would, perhaps, become the "Universal Language"

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in due course, with which its advocates hope to end the World-Babel, once for all:

I, for one cannot fail to be struck by the promise of a radiant hope — that great days are coming to this sub-continent, under "Community Development Programme" — fittingly undertaken on October 2, 1952 and sponsored by the Technical Aid of the U.S.A. By it, more than a lakh villages across the land with about seven-and-a half crores village-workers, during three short years — are on the march to prosperity! The Government of India carrying the heavy load of a free country, whose birth about a decade ago was attended with deficit-budgets, soaring natural calamities and rising population, thought it fit to invite American Aid for the supply of agricultural equipments, jeeps, tractors, hospital vans, mobile cinema units and varied kinds of teaching Aids.

And, the heartening fact is this, that under the programmes, the Indian villagers themselves have contributed so far sixty-percent of the total outlay — in land, labour, cash and kind, while the U.S.A. in support of all phases of India's progress have subscribed through their Government and private sources: "a total of more than half a billion dollars" (The American Reporter, February, 1, 1956).

This has set the villages — the Soul of India — according to Gandhiji — moving — to get together to work and sit together to devise ways and means to their ends — and a march in India now, anywhere: from the rolling foot-hills of Darjeeling to the palm-shaded sandy beaches of Travancore, gives the warm but unmistakable assurance, indeed, that the "Heart of Aryâvârtâ" is truly on the move — a new Hope bestirs afresh for the one-sixth of mankind!

If that is possible — on the material plane, couldn't India evolve, *pari passu*, the type of an education—undreamt of, perhaps, by Macaulays, Curzons or Carmichael's in the improved — "stylised", "reformed" or "re-activated" version of *Modern* English — that would verily seek to revivify her Soul as miraculously and, let the teeming millions of the soil work together, with head upright and mind straight and fearless — as "Indians First"; "Indians Second" and "Indians Forever" — in the immortal words of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji — the Father of Modern Indian Universities?

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Vidura Niti — A Cultural and Political Study

BY

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI, M.A., LL.B.

Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political Science, V. P. Mahavidyalaya, S. V. University, Vallabh Vidyanagar (Anand), W. Rly.

Vidura Nīti (alias Prajāgara Parva: Adi. P., II/60) forms a very important and interesting part of Mahābhārata (Uddhyoga Parva, Chapters XXXIII-XL). It has 588 verses in its northern version and 594 in the southern version, the 6 extra being found in Ch. XXXIII. In the northern version Ch. XXXIII has 123 verses, Ch. XXXIV, 86 verses, Ch. XXXV, 77 verses, Ch. XXXVI, 74 verses, Ch. XXXVII, 64 verses, Ch. XXXVIII, 47 verses, Ch. XXXIX 85 verses and Ch. XL, 32 verses (in all 588 verses). It appears from a close and critical examination of the text that Vidura would have offered simple and straight forward advice to Dhṛtarāstra, his elder half-brother, to settle the family quarrel between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas amicably by returning to the former their kingdom according to the original stipulation to avoid the impending conflict. The present long discourse covering almost all conceivable topics would have been hardly appropriate. So it appears logical to believe that the portion suggesting directly or indirectly peace, being relevant to the occasion, would have been the original neucleus of this discourse. The extra topics, the main burden of the present text, are obviously later additions. Proceeding from these premises one might say that Ch. XXXIII: verses 15-16 and 123, Ch. XXXIV: verses 82-86, Ch. XXXV: verses 39-40 and 75-77, Ch. XXXVI: verses 49-50, 60, 70 and 72-74; Ch. XXXVII: verses 19-21, 42-43, 45 and 62-64, Ch. XXXVIII: verses 46-47, Ch. XXXIX: verses 1-9, 14-23, 26-32 and 84-85, and Ch. XL: verses 30-32, in all 52 verses, suggesting peace, compromise and family adjustment would have composed the original exhortation of Vidura. In other words, the remaining (588-52 = 536) verses are later interpolations. God knows in how many years and by how many hands was this achieved! The existing text is

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a baffling mass of multiplicity of topics. The present article is a humble attempt at sorting out this information under suitable headings to churn out the picture of cultural and political institutions at the time of the final compilation of this text and also to find out its time.

* *

Social Institutions

Varṇas.

Society was divided into four classes (Varṇas), viz., Brahmin, Kshtriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Added to these were slaves.[1] Brahmins had to be deft in the Vedic lore,[2] treat Vedas as their sole friend,[3] remain devoted to worship alone,[4] control their senses[5] and visit outside places[6] (within India ?) but not without purpose[7] and without the intention of permanent stay there.[8] Though enmity with Brahmins was regarded as a sure sign of destruction[9] and even one Brahmin was deemed capable of destroying a whole kingdom,[10] people, in spite of admonition to the contrary,[11] pocketed their wealth,[12] insulted,[13] defamed,[14] beat and even killed Brahmins[15] although they were regarded as non-killable[16] and were not to be held even as an object of anger.[17] Learned Brahmins acted as Purohits[18] and 'Hotā'.[19] However, some Brahmins, even when lacking in the knowledge of proper recitation of Mantras, acted as Hotā,[20] others accepted the condemned office of Grāma-Purohita,[21] some even married Shudra girls[22] and drank wine,[23] while others not only taught undeserving persons[24] but also

1. 33/64.
2. 33/34.
3. 34/36.
4. 35/73.
5. 39/40.
6. 33/53.
7. 33/108.
8. 33/89.
9. 33/93-95.
10. 40/8. Cf. Caṇakya.
11. 36/27.
12. 33/94; 36/26-27.
13. 34/52; 36/27.
14. 36ṇ27.
15. 36/33.
16. 36/66.
17. 38/30.
18. 33/85.
19. 33/79.
20. 33/79.
21. 35/85.
22. 37/12.
23. 35/47-48.
24. 33/39.

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officiated on Shraddha ceremony without Vedic knowledge.[25] Kshtriyas were held inferior to Brahmins[26] and the former not only occupied a lower seat before the latter[27] but also sometimes washed their feet.[28] However, some adventurous princes claimed superiority over their Brahmin preceptors.[29] Kshtriyas were expected to learn Vedas, perform daily sacrifices, protect their subjects and die in defence of cows and Brahmins.[30] Vaishyas were advised to acquire merit by serving Brahmins and Kshtriyas through money and enjoying the smell of sacrificial smoke[31] (from a distance). The Shudras were to serve the three upper strata.[32] So much rigidity had set in social rules that a prince and a Brahmin could not even sit on the same seat.[33]

Caste System.

Functional differentiation of society into castes had taken place.[34] Caste-fellows were advsied to remain friendly amongst themselves[35] and prosper through mutual aid and love.[36] They were to work for the prosperity of the whole caste;[37] not to quarrel amongst themselves but enjoy co-operatively.[38] Members of the same caste were to dine together, talk sweetly and love each other and never to oppose one another[39] because success or failure depended upon co-operation or opposition of caste-fellows alone.[40] Rich were expected to help their poor caste-fellows.[41] People craved for fame in their caste-circle.[42] Thoughtful people dreaded the rivalry between caste-fellows[43] and physical violence to one's own caste-fellow was regarded as a sure portent of fall.[44]

Conception of "Kulīna" (Respectable).

Along with 'Varṇa-dharma' and 'Jāti-dharma' 'Kulīnatā'[45] (respectability) was also emphasised. It was held that 'Kulīnatā'

25. 38/24.
26. 35/14; 35/35.
27. 35/17
28. 35/38.
29. cf. 35/15.
30. 40/26.
31. 40/27.
32. 40/28.
33. 35/16.
34. 33/114.
35. 36/60.
36. 38/65.
37. 39/19.
38. 39/23.
39. 39/24.
40. 39/25.
41. 39/12.
42. 33/120.
43. 56/58.
44. 36/61.
45. 35/52.

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increased the fame of a person.[45a] That person alone was "Kulīna" whose good conduct never abated, who did not torment his parents by evil deeds, who followed the injunctions of Dharma with pleasure, aspired to increase the fame of his family through giving up falsehood,[46] possessed 'tapa' (austerities), controlled sense-organs, studied Vedas, performed daily sacrifices, enjoyed sacred wedlock and possessed a good stock of grains and good manners.[47]. A man with good conduct, even if born in poor family, could rank amongst high born[48] and not those merely owning cows, servants and wealth but lacking in family (traditional) ethics.[49] To counteract the pride of persons lacking in good conduct[50] but priding in accident of birth in a 'Kulīna' family,[51] it is clearly laid down that one who did not transgress the limits of good behaviour, aspired to righteous actions and possessed the feeling of shamefulness and soft temper was above hundreds of mere high-borns ('kulīnas').[52]

Marriage.

Holy wedlock offered persons a social status.[53] Marriage was to be arranged amongst members of families equal in status[54] because marriage-relation in a notorious family lowered the status of even a respectable one.[55] Polygamy was current.[56] The absence of any reference about polyandry, inspite of a clear instance of this institution in MBH,[57] is intriguing. Possibly, it was given up amongst respectable families by this time. A lady could choose freely between a Brahmin and a Daitya prince.[58] Illegitimate children were raised[59] and abortion was practised.[60]

Family Life.

A householder was to treat tenderly[61] and respect his family members,[62] protect them even if vicious[63] and never to insult

45a. 33/99.
46. 36/24.
47. 36/23.
48. 36/29.
49. 36/28.
50. 34/41.
51. 34/44.
52. 39/46.
53. 35/23.
54. 33/117.
55. 35/25.
56. 36/55.
57. cf. Draupadī.
58. cf. Keśinī episode 35/8ff.
59. 35/46.
60. 35/47; 38/4.
61. 35/73.
62. 39/19.
63. 39/20.

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them[64] or himself to remain idle.[65] Though sons were expected to be obedient,[66] after marriage they were found disregarding their mothers.[67] None was expected to eat and dress well without distributing these articles amongst his dependents,[68] who were to be looked after even at the cost of one's own share in eatables.[69] Even a king, who did not share his wealth amongst his dependents, was to be given up.[70] Apart from his aged parents,[71] a householder was expected to maintain aged persons of his family, person of respectable family (in trouble), wealthless friend and issueless sister.[72] Images of gods, goat, bull, sandal wood, lute, mirror, honey, ghee, copper-vessals, conch, image of Padmanābha (Viṣṇu), 'gorocana',[73] brass utensils, silver, bow and birds constituted the essential features of a householder's belongings.[74] Cot was also used.[74a] A householder could retire into jungle only after matching his marriageable daughters with suitable consorts and engaging his sons in proper professions.[75]

Position of Ladies.

Though the ladies were regarded as Lakshmis of the household because of being honourable, lucky, pious and object of respect in the family and were to be protected,[76] their sole importance was primarily sexual and procreative only.[77] Husbands were the natural protectors of their wives[78] and they disregarded their wives after enjoying them.[79] Though wives were expected to be amenable and sweet-tongued[80] some ladies were bitter-tongued and it was enjoined that such whores were to be given up.[81] Desertion on the part of ladies is also reported.[82] Due to polygamy ladies suffered great mental distress[83] and wicked persons sowed seeds of dissensions among them and their husbands.[84] Sometimes people

64. 37/59.
65. 33/57.
66. 33/82.
67. 33/87.
68. 33/41.
69. 33/118.
70. 38/39.
71. 34/74.
72. 33/70.
73. 40/10.
74. 40/9.
74a. 39/29.
75. 37/39.
76. 38/11.
77. 39/68.
78. 34/38.
79. 34/38.
80. 33/82.
81. 33/80.
82. 34/62.
84. 35/43.

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lied for (getting) wives.[85] The chief duty of a wife was to serve.[86] Restlessness was regarded as a natural propensity of ladies[87] and the chastity of ladies was always suspected till old age.[88] It was believed that the depth of the bad character of a lady could not be fathomed[89] and that the sexual appetite of wicked ladies was beyond the power of any man to satisfy.[90] The protection of female apartments was to be entrusted only to one's own father;[91] and fathers-in-law were enjoined not to joke or stay with their daughters-in-law when alone.[92] Many ladies preserved their honour by covering their beauty with rags.[93] Ladies were regarded as non-killable.[94] However, some beat them,[95] and it was legitimate for a person to protect himself by sacrificing his wife.[96] The fact of the absence of any reference to the practice of staking one's wife in dice, once current,[97] suggests that, possibly, this right was disallowed at the time of Vidura Niti. People were advised not to trust them or be under their control though they were to protect and speak sweetly to ladies.[99] Undeserving ladies were not to be protected.[100] Ladies could not own any property because whatever they earned belonged to their lord.[101] Discussions (of any sort) between ladies and gents was to be avoided.[101a]

Ladies' Morals.

Some ladies craved for others' paramours[102] and earned money through immoral trade[103] from persons given to seducing others' wives,[104] even though contact with other's wife was banned as harmful.[105] Even the wife of a Guru was not spared by his students.[106] It was advised that adulteress and widow with young children were not to be trusted in money matters.[107] There were professional prostitutes also.[108]

85. 35/34.
86. 34/75.
87. 36/58.
88. 35/69.
89. 35/72
90. 40/7.
91. 38/2.
92. 37/5.
93. 34/40.
94. 36/66.
95. 36/61.
96. 37/18.
97. cf. Draupadi.
98. 37/57.
99. 38/57.
100. 37/3
101. 33/64.
101a. 35/43.
102. 33/55.
103. 33/85.
104. 33/108; 35/46; 37/5.
105. 33/65.
106. 35/47.
107. 35/30.
108. 38/45.

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Diatetics.

People were advised to eat harmless, digestable and beneficial diet.[109] Rich people emphasised on meat, middle class people on milk-products and poor people on oily preparations.[110] Though only digestable food was recommended,[111] the rich ate recklessly and lost their appetite[112] by harming their digestive system.[113] Eating frugally was recommended not only for health, long life, strength and pleasure but also for good progeny and avoiding the nickname for gluttony.[114] Gluttons were not to be accepted as guests.[115] Fishes,[116] possibly, supplemented cereals[117] in food.

Economic Condition

Inequality in wealth.

Functional division of society had frozen society into several castes.[118] There were rich and poor. Wealth had made some people proud,[119] blind[120] and extravagant.[121] Sinful means were employed for acquiring riches.[122] The poor were advised to suffer patiently[123] and carried heavy loads.[124] The rich were advised to trust their servants, not to get angry with them[125] and not to give them up in bad days.[126] Earning of slaves belonged to their masters.[127] The wicked,[128] the ungentle and the thieves were not to be served[129] and servants of wicked persons were not to be approached for help under whatever circumstances.[130] Unemployment was feared.[131]

Trade and Professions.

Except salt, cooked food, milk, honey, oil, ghee, "til" seeds, meat, fruits, roots, vegetables, red cloth[132] and 'soma'[133] other arti-

109. 34/14.
110. 34/49.
111. 35/69.
112. 34/50.
113. 34/51.
114. 37/34.
115. 37/35.
116. cf. 34/13, 66.
117. cf. 36/31.
118. cf. 33/114.
119. 34/44.
120. 34/53.
121. 33/92.
122. 33/42.
123. 33/60.
124. 35/31.
125. 37/22.
126. 33/68.
127. 33/64.
128. 36/6, 20.
129. 36/10.
130. 37/36.
131. 34/52.
132. 38/6.
133. 35/46.

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cles could be sold. Trade was carried on with the help of servants[134] though agriculture was to be undertaken by oneself and cattle-tending was to be entrusted to people like oneself.[135] Though cattle-tenders,[136] barbers,[136a] physicians,[137] surgeons,[138] boatsmen,[139] charioteers[140] and weapon-manufacturers[141] only are mentioned, it is fair to presume that goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, hunters and others also flourished. Though physicians were to be protected,[142] their's and surgeons' feet were not to be washed. However, as guests, they were to be welcomed.[142a] Horses,[143] cows,[144] goats,[145] and bulls[146] were the domesticated animals of those days. Horses were trained.[147] Cows were not to be beaten[148] and dependable persons were to be appointed to look after cattle.[149]

Means of Communication and Transport.

Boats were used for crossing rivers[150] and high seas,[151] and chariots[152] were used for conveyance across the land. The reference to bull[153] might suggest that bullock-carts were also, possibly, used. Unharnessed horse might have been used for riding though no specific reference to this effect is made anywhere.

Religious Institutions

Daily Routine.

Wearing of sacred thread, daily bath, 'sandhya', offering to the manes of the ancestors, study of shastras and distribution of food were to be daily undertaken.[154] Daily bath was recommended for increase in strength, beauty, melodious voice, fair complexion, softness of skin, holiness, delicacy and for obtaining fair brides.[155]

134. 38/13.
135. 38/12.
136. 33/79.
137. cf. 33/84, 88; 37/58.
138. 38/4
139. cf. 33/88.
140. 34/60.
141. 35/46
142. 39/45.
142a. 38/4.
143. cf. 34/40; 36/61.
144. cf. 34/40; 36/31.
145. 40/9-10.
146. 40/10.
147. 34/60.
148. 36/61.
149. cf. 38/12.
150. 33/88.
151. 33/47.
152. cf. 34/59.
153. cf. 40/10.
154. 40/25.
155. 37/33.

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Rituals and other Beliefs.

Offering to the manes of the ancestors,[156] worship of gods,[157] daily offering into fire[158] and pilgrimage[159] were to be made with pure heart and clear mind.[160] Offerings into fire, silence, study and sacrifices, if undertaken without faith, were regarded as cause of fear.[161] Similarly, rituals performed by money earned through sin were regarded as fruitless.[162] People believed in life after death where one was accompanied by the effects of his good and bad deeds only.[163] Worship of Padmanabha (Viṣṇu?) had come into vogue.[164] So also atheism[165] and people were advised not to trust atheists.[166] Some even abused the Vedas.[167] Lust, anger and avarice were regarded as doors of hell.[168] After fulfilling their duties as householders people retired into jungles.[169] Sanyāsins were treated as adorable.[170] A sanyāsin possessed of austerities was supposed to reach the highest spheres by piercing through the solar region.[171] However, some Sanyasins indulged in worldly activities[172] and crooked deeds, for which they were condemned.[173] Saints, though they helped others, were left unhelped.[174]

Philosophy.

The finite self was regarded as having emanated from the Infinite.[175] 'Ātmā' was held as a witness of the commerce of the body.[176] The 'body' was regarded as a chariot, wisdom the charioteer and the sense organs horses, who were to be kept cautiously under control.[177] The failure to control them was a sure sign of failure like a charioteer thrown off by unruly horses.[178] Subduing of the mind, intelligence and sense organs was recommended to know the Self which was both friend and foe in turn.[179] Liberation

156. 33/35.
157. 33/35, 116.
158. 33/73, 116.
159. 35/2.
160. 35/65.
161. 35/45.
162. 39/65.
163. 40/16-18.
164. cf. 40/10.
165. 39/61.
166. 39/73.
167. 35/47.
168. 33/66.
169. 37/39.
170. 33/75.
171. 33/60.
172. verse following 33/52 (found in southern version alone).
173. 33/57.
174. 34/46.
175. 40/21.
176. 33/100.
177. 34/59.
178. 34/60.
179. 34/65-66.

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was attainable not through charity or Vedic knowledge but by selflessness, detachment, absence of hatred[180] and patience[181] which was possible only through subduing lust, anger, greed, attachment, ego and jealousy.[182] It was openly conceded that knowledge of Vedic lore alone could neither wash away the sins[183] nor win liberation for an aspirant.[184] Thus both the liberation and other worlds are referred to side by side. Belief in 'nothingness' is also reported.[184a]

Ethics, Manners and Education

Truthfulness, charity, activity, absence of fault-finding tendency, forgiveness, patience,[185] wisdom, respectability, control of senses, knowledge of Shastras, bravery, less speaking, charity according to means, gratitude,[186] silence,[187] wearing of good costumes,[188] acting after deliberation,[189] following the footsteps of upright people, observing traditional ethics,[190] daily sacrificial offerings, study, austerity, pity, greedlessness,[191] simplicity and tenderness[192] were recommended. Not to give charity was regarded as an ill-use of money.[193] Rich not spending their wealth in charity were condemned.[194] Charity by poor was praised.[195] After giving away one was not to regret it.[196] However, hospitality from notorious persons was not accepted by learned people.[197] Useless itinery, contact with sinners, adultery, hypocrisy, theft, complaint against others and drinking wine[198] and dressing like a vagabond were to be avoided.[198a] Excessive sleep, dozing, fear, idleness and late-doing were regarded as vices.[199] Drinking was condemned,[200] and abstinence was recommended for happiness.[201]

180. 36/53.
181. 40/22.
182. 33/83.
183. 35/42.
184. 36/53.
184a. 33/39.
185. 33/81.
186. 33/99.
187. 35/45.
188. 34/47.
189. 34/19.
190. 34/28.
191. 35/56.
192. 35/55.
193. 33/59.
194. 33/60.
195. 33/58.
196. 33/113.
197. 38/3.
198. 33/108.
198a. 33/111.
199. 33/78.
200. 30/101.
201. 34/43; 35/43.

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True friendship was greatly cherished. A friend was to be grateful, religious, truthful, generous, firm, controlled in senses and living within limits.[202] One who was proud, dare devil, prone to quick anger and irreligious was not to be befriended.[203] A friend was always to be well treated.[204] Ingratitude prevailed in spite of the fact that gratitude was commended.[206]

A person who had sought protection was neither to be given up[207] nor killed.[208] One killing such a refugee was regarded as a Brahma-Hatyārā[209] and had to undertake expiation for it.[210]

Manners.

People were advised not to come uninvited, speak unrequested,[211] eat alone, decide alone, walk alone, wake alone,[212] speak harshly, respect wicked persons,[213] go at untimely hours to others, stand concealed at the cross-road in night, try for woman cherished by king,[214] quarrel with,[215] or insult,[216] or play treachery on his friends.[217]

Education.

Education was meant to impart knowledge of duties.[218] Learning had an economic bias.[219] Along with Vedic lore[220] and elementary science,[221] education consisted of training in the art of fluent and parabalic speech, expertness in logic and capacity of discovering the central idea of any book.[222] Though the teacher was to be served with great care[223] by the students and though he was almost a ruler over his disciples,[224] people not only neglected their teachers after completing their studies[225] but some even committed adultery with the preceptor's consort, an act which required

202. 39/50.
203. 39/49.
204. 36/43.
205. 33/87-88.
206. 35/52.
207. 33/68.
208. 36/66.
209. 35/48.
210. 37/13.
211. 33/36.
212. 33/46.
213. 33/54.
214. 37/28.
215. 38/38.
216. 39/52.
217. 36/32.
218. 39/34.
219. 33/82.
220. cf. 34/36.
221. 33/27.
222. 33/28.
223. 35/27.
224. 35/71.
225. 33/87.

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expiation.[226] Teachers who neglected to teach were to be given up.[227] Many prided in their learning[228] and some assumed airs of scholarship without any learning.[229] It was supposed that learning could become fruitful only by control of the senses[230] and respect[231] and service of elders.[232] Anger in elders was to be forcefully restrained.[233] It was held that even learned persons like Bṛhaspati could not attain Dharma and Artha without serving elders.[234] Still some wicked persons not only did not serve elders[235] but also sometimes involved them in false complaints.[236]

Political Institutions

Equipment (both intellectual and psychological) of Kings.

Hereditary monarchy had come into being.[236a] Kings lived in guarded palaces[236b] in capitals with walls and gates.[236c] Though the crown was absolute in its regal powers, the king was required to qualify himself for holding the responsible job of wielding the sceptre. The training of the king was both intellectual and psychological. He was required to know the Shastras and be an expert in all arts.[237] His psychological training consisted in controlling his anger,[237] giving up attachment to ladies,[238] drinking,[239] dice, hunting, severity in speech, extravagance,[240] engagement in unjust gains.[241] He was required to be controlled in anger and pleasure and not to lose the balance of his mind even in most trying circumstances.[242] Discriminate enough to distinguish between right and wrong policies, he was expected to bring under his control friends, neutrals and foes through praise, money, punishment and sowing seeds of dissensions. He had to keep his five sense organs restrained and become expert in Sandhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Duaīdhībhāva and Samāshrayarupa[243] and in the

226. 37/12.
227. 33/79.
228. 34/44.
229. 33/30.
230. 39/40.
231. 38/1.
232. 39/39.
233. 38/30.
234. 39/39.
235. 36/39
236. 39/3.
236a. 34/27.
236b. 33/6.
236c. 35/32.
237. 33/104.
238. 33/91, 104.
239. 33/92; 34/43.
240. 33/91-92.
241. 34/28.
242. 37/51.
243. 34/28.

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knowledge of birth, sustenance and decay of things.[244] He was required to be discreet enough not to disclose state secrets[245] and the cause of his own success.[246]

A king had also to learn to distinguish between the degrees of circumstances, the avenues of profit and loss, and the condition of the country.[247] Under all circumstances he had to avoid being regarded as wicked, ungrateful and shameless.[248] He had to learn to punish when angry and reward when pleased.[249] Tyrants were not unknown in those days[250] though tyranny was regarded as a termination of even hereditary dynasties[251] or at least a cause of diminution of their kingdoms.[252] In general, the people were advised not to oppose their king[253] and to have no contact with his enemies.[254] Even an anger in the king was to be forcefully restrained.[255]

Duties of kings.

The king was expected to love his subjects[256] and please them by eyes, mind, speech and actions.[257] He was never to be held in excessive fear by his subjects otherwise the latter would desert him.[258] Similarly, he was never to be greedy to deprive others of their wealth.[259] He was also expected to practise Dharma,[260] punish the guilty and act after deliberation and discrimination.[261] He was not to deceive (his friends), and be spotless, wise and good natured.[262] He was to appear like a tree loaded with fruits but difficult to scale for reaching them.[263] He had to learn to reciprocate to others whatever they did to him, i.e., to be crafty to the cunning and good to upright persons.[264] Rule of a lady or a child or an addict to dice was as much condemned[264a] as a kingless state.[264b]

244. 38/25.
245. 34/43.
246. 33/119.
247. 34/10.
248. 38/39.
249. 34/21.
250. 37/29, 57.
251. 34/27.
252. 34/29.
253. 35/30.
254. 33/115.
255. 38/30.
256. 34/23.
257. 34/25.
258. 34/26.
259. 36/32.
260. 34/31.
261. 38/58.
262. 38/37.
263. 34/24.
264. 37/7.
264a. 38/43.
264b. 39/76.

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Ministers of State

Ministers of state were held in highest respect. A faithful minister was regarded as one of the sources of strength of the state.[265] The appointment of ministers was preceded by proper tests because both money and success depended upon ministers alone.[266] Reliance upon wicked ministers was condemned[267] though the minister of the enemy was to be won over to annihilate the latter.[268] Though the pay of the minister is nowhere mentioned there are reasonable grounds to suppose that the ministers were paid enough to keep them away from the thought of desertion to enemy for economic reasons.[269] Though nowhere the post of Prime Minister is mentioned, it is fair to presume in the light of the testimony of Vaiśakhadutta[270] and Bāṇa Bhatta[271] that there was a post of prime minister. Bāṇa's description of Sukhanāśa[271a] might be a picture of an ideal prime minister.

Sabha

There was a council of elders called Sabhā to help but its precise functions and composition are not known. It was to consist of elderly persons, who knew the spirit of Dharma, practised truth and were free from craftiness.[272] Respect by the king in such meetings was greatly coveted.[273]

Official Secrets

The main emphasis of Vidura Nīti lies in advice to keep the secrets undiscovered by any one. The leakage of secrets was regarded as the sure cause of the destruction of the king along with both the State and the people.[274] The kings were enjoined not to divulge actions pertaining to religion, accomoda-

265. 37/53.
266. 38/19.
267. 39/37.
268. 39/56.
269. 37/23.
270. cf. Mudrārākṣasa where Caṇakya attempts and succeeds in getting the services of Rakṣasa as the prime minister of Candragupta Maurya.
271. *Kādambarī* (C. M. Ridding Tr.: Jaico pub.), p. 49.
272. 35/58.
273. 35/53; 37/32.
274. 33/45.

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tion and monetary affairs before the purpose was achieved.[275] Mountain tops, secluded chambers of the royal mansion or grassless jungle were regarded as suitable places for confidential deliberations.[276] And again, those who were not friends, or in spite of being friends who were not learned, or in spite of being learned whose minds were not steady, were not fit to be confided with state secrets.[277] Similarly, the shortsighted, the late doers, the hasty and the flatterers were neither to be consulted nor confided with secrets.[278] A person to be entitled to participate in such confidential consultations was expected to be conversant with the six gunas.[279]

Though a king was to keep his own secrets studiously undiscovered, he was advised to obtain secrets of the enemy from his enemys' messenger through intoxicating drugs, the absence of knowledge of essentials, incompetence, sleep, and motion of eyes and mouth and also from the wicked ministers.[280]

Spies and Messengers.

Spies were regarded as the eyes of the king[281] (which means that they had to watch over the activities of the subjects and enemies alike). The task of a messenger was also very responsible. One without ego, and cowardice, quick in completing his work, generous, pure hearted, not excitable by others, healthy and sweet-tongued alone was to be appointed as 'dūta', i.e., messenger or envoy. An incapable 'duta' was feared because he leaked out state secrets.[282] Employment of Brahmin on such errands was condemned.[283]

SERVANTS

After estimating the income and expense side of the budget a king was to appoint servants whose salary and duties were to be fixed beforehand.[284] Servant who fulfilled his master's purpose, spoke profitably, and who was devoted to his master, upright and

275. 38/16-17.
276. 38/17-18.
277. 38/18-19.
278. 33/69.
279. 38/24.
280. 39/36-37.
281. 34/34.
282. 39/37.
283. 37/13.
284. 37/24.

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acquainted with the power of the king was to be kindly treated.[285] One who did not respect the command of the king, refused to accept work assigned to him, prided in his own wisdom and was given to talking back was to be given up.[286]

Dealing with Enemies

The king who did not oppose his enemies was regarded as doomed.[286a] However a king was required to be very cautious in dealing with enemies.[287] He was advised to avoid fighting the enemy when the latter was strong[287] and even submit to him in such circumstances.[288] Enemy was to be challenged only under suitable circumstances[289] when one's own position was strong.[290] The protection of one's own subjects and the conquest of enemy's territory were specially recommended to king.[291] However, even when weak the king was not to reveal his own weakness and pose as strong.[292] The defeated enemy was never to be spared alive.[293]

War

Though victory through bravery[294] and death in the battlefield were cherished,[295] only just wars were commended.[296] Mercenaries were looked down as socially inferior[297] and people were advised to have no monetary transactions with them.[298]

Finance

Income.

Land revenue, possibly, formed the chief source of state income as no tax on merchandise is anywhere mentioned. Speaking about the principles of taxation it is said that like a humming bee who protects flowers while sucking juice[299] or like gardener who plucks flowers without uprooting plants, king was to collect land revenue from agriculturists.[300] Fine was another recognized source

285. 37/25.
286. 37/26.
286a. 33/53.
287. 33/106.
288. 34/57; 38/29.
289. 33/106.
290. 38/29.
291. 34/30.
292. 34/24.
293. 38/29.
294. 35/69.
295. 33/61.
296. 36/54.
297. 38/4.
298. 37/30.
299. 34/17.
300. 34/18.

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of income.[301] So also was depriving of the wealthy people of their riches though kings were advised not to be too greedy to resort to rob others of their wealth.[302] Treasury affairs were to be attended to by the king personally.[303]

Expenditure.

Money was to be shared by the king with his servants[304] in the form of pay.[305] King was never to pocket the entire income of the state[306] and the subjects were never to be left to starve.[307]

JUSTICE

Procedure.

The dispensation of even-handed justice was the chief duty of a king.[308] The fact that perverted justice by the king carried his ministers also to hell[309] suggests that they were also associated with the administration of justice. In arriving at any decision the king was not to rely on the testimony of palmists, black-marketeers, addicts to dice, enemy or friend of the accused and dancers.[310] Special discretion was expected from the king in delivering judgment because instances of false complaints,[311] pleading of loss of memory after receiving articles and attempts at proving false things right are reported.[312] Anti-social deeds, like cheating,[313] assault,[314] abusing others,[315] quarrelling,[316] stealing,[317] adultery, abortion, setting fire to (other's) house, poisoning,[318] etc., are mentioned. The fact that even murders were committed can be inferred from the assertion that Brahmins, family-members, children, ladies, patron and refugees were not to be killed.[319] However, one might venture to guess that sometimes even these persons would not have been spared. People could stand security for others.[320] Sometimes upright were also punished with the wicked.[321]

301. 33/85.
302. 36/22.
303. 38/26.
304. 38/27.
305. 37/24.
306. 38/27.
307. 39/76.
308. cf. 35/29.
309. 35/39.
310. 35/44.
311. 40/3.
312. 37/6.
313. 38/36-37.
314. 36/11.
315. 36/5, 15.
316. 38/31.
317. 33/84, 108.
318. 35/46.
319. 36/66.
320. 33/110.
321. 34/70.

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Punishments.

The punishment on proved offences was to be just and convincing to the subjects. Deviation from impartiality in punishment, i.e., giving less or more punishment than the merit of crime, or pardon to guity were regarded as detrimental to the interests of the king.[322]

Perverted Justice.

In justice lay the strength of king[323] which kept the wicked under control.[324] King giving wrong decision stood the danger of expulsion from his capital by the subjects[325] and went to hell along with his ministers.[326] One thing a king was always to remember: all mortals have to die and Dharma alone lasts so they were to give up fear, temptation, greed and other weaknesses in administration of justice and other state activities.[327]

Time of Vidura Niti

For fixing the time of Vidura Nīti the only clue which can help us is that of the evolution of the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu. Elsewhere I have attempted to reconstruct the chronology of this evolution. Kṛṣṇa was worshipped even in the days of Arthaśāstra,[328] i.e., IV cen. B.C. Varāha was added in I cen. A.D. Nṛsiṁha was added about II half of I cen. A.D. or I half of II cen. A.D. Vāmana came to be included about the end of II cen. A.D. or the I half of III cen. A.D. Rāma's inclusion took place about the first quarter of IV[329] or the end of III cen. A.D. at the earliest. In Vidura Nīti only clear reference to the deeds of the incarnations of Viṣṇu is the fall of Bali.[330] The reference to Prahalāda[331] suggests that the story of Nṛsiṁha-incarnation would have been also by that time invented. Without Kṛṣṇa the story of Mahābhārata is inconceivable.[331a] In as much as the existing Vidura Nīti pur-

322. 33/105.
323. 34/75.
324. 35/71.
325. 35/32.
326. 35/39.
327. cf. 40/12-14.
328. Arthasastra Bk. XIV. ch. 3.
329. "Viṣṇusahasranāma — A Mythological Study" (To be published in the Journal of Vikrama University).
330. 38/47.
331. cf. 35/14ff.
331a. Adi. P., I/256.

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ports to describe the moral ideal of life to Dhṛtarāṣṭra[332] and fails to mention even once the example of Rāma, the highest moral embodiment, we may reasonably conclude that this omission is an indication of Vidura Nīti being antecedent to the fact of Rāma's inclusion in the list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. So one might say that Kṛṣṇa, Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana are inferable from Vidura Nīti so far as the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu is concerned. The latest member of this list is Vāmana whose inclusion in this list is placed in cir. III cen. A.D. The absence of any reference to the exploits or name of Rāma places Vidura Nīti before IV cen. A.D. So somewhere after the inclusion of Vāmana but before that of Rāma the time of Vidura Nīti should be fixed. This suggests III cen. A.D. for it. Now one can say that the cultural and political institutions described here are mostly the reflection of the circumstances current in India in III cen. A.D., i.e., the political, ethical and psychological turmoil, anarchy and confusion in pre-Gupta period.

N.B.—All the citations from Mahābhārata are taken from Gita Press, Gorakhapur, edition.

332. cf. 33/11, 15; 35/1.

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The Saka Era of Varahamihira — Salivahana Saka

By

T. S. KUPPANNA SASTRI, M.A., L.T.,
Asst. Professor (Retd.), Presidency College, Madras,
and
K. V. SARMA, M.A., B.Sc.,
Dept. of Sanskrit, Madras University

Introduction

With reference to chronology the word '*Śaka*' is used in two senses: (1) As a common noun meaning any era (as for *e.g.*, in the terms *Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka, Vikrama Śaka, Mālava Śaka, Śālivāhana Śaka* etc.) and, (2) As a proper noun to mean a particular era called the *Śaka-kāla* or *Śaka Era*. Most Indologists believe that the *Śaka Era* is the same as what later is generally referred to as the *Śālivāhana Śaka* which commenced with the month of *Caitra* occurring in 78 A.D., *i.e.*, at the end of 3179 years of the Kali Era; for it can be shown that all astronomical works and commentaries thereon, wherever they mention a *Śaka Era* mean *only* the *Śālivāhana Era*, starting, as mentioned above, from 3179 Kali elapsed. But some like the late T. S. Narayana Sastri,[1] Prof. Gulshan Rai,[2] Kota Venkatachelam,[3] and Prof. V. Thiruvenkatacharya[4] (VT) take the word to mean a certain Cyrus Era or Andhra Era, which they say, started from 550 B.C.[5] Still

1. Cf. his *Age of Sankara* (Madras, 1918), Pt. I, D, 224ff.
2. Cf. his article, "The Persian Emperor Cyrus, the Great, and the 'Saka Era', *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, (*JPUHS*), I (1932) 61-73, 122-36.
3. Cf. his *Plot in Indian Chronology* (Vijayawada, 1953) 49-51; 'Indian Eras', *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, (*JAHRS*) 20 (1949-50), 43ff; 21 (1950-52), 61-73, 122-36.
4. Cf. his 'Ayanamsa and Indian chronology: The Age of Varahamihira, Kalidasa etc'., *Journal of Indian History* (*JIH*) 28 (1950) 103 and 'The Andhra Saka' *JAHRS*, 22 (1952-54) 161-82.
5. In his *Popular Astronomy* (Madras, 1958), pp. 135, 136, VT has changed to 551 B.C. without assigning reasons therefor.

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another view is expressed by Sri K. Rangarajan, who takes it to mean an era which commenced from 523/22 B.C. with the first Viceroy of India appointed by the Persian Emperor.[6] They also try to show that it never means the *Śālivāhana Śaka*.[7] What astounds us is that even where there is clear evidence that *Śālivāhana Śaka* is to be taken, (in the shape of statements that 3179 is to be added to the years gone in the *Śaka Era* to get the years gone in *Kali*)[8] these scholars ignore it implicitly or explicitly as in the case of the *Śaka-kāla* mentioned by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II.[9] When this is the fate of such clear evidence, we need not be surprised if they identify with their alleged Cyrus or Andhra Era, the *Śaka Era* mentioned in giving the epochs of *Karaṇas* (astronomical manuals) as in the case of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (*PS*), the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* or the *Laghumānasa*, or in giving the date of a work given by the author, as for instance by Bhattotpala at the end of his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* or in inscriptions like the Aihole Inscription, or in sundry other places as in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* I.13, in all of which cases the identification has got to be made by examining the months and *Tithis* and *Kṣepas* mentioned therewith.

The reason why they want to identify the *Śákakāla* with the so-called Cyrus or Andhra Era is this: They believe that there was a "plot hatched by European Indologists" to post-date by several centuries the ancient events of Indian History, and that most Indian Indologists have become unconscious victims of that plot. They try to show that the *Yudhiṣṭhira* and *Saptarṣi Eras* are everywhere identical, and were actually started 25 years after the beginning of the Kali Era. Using this they try to show that it is Samudra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty that is to be identified

6. *Cf.* Summary of his paper, 'On the Origin of Saka-kala', *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, Fifth Session, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 164, of which nothing more is known.

7. In the case of Bhāskara II alone, VT concedes that the *Śaka Era* mentioned by him is the *Śālivāhana Śaka*.

8. *e.g.*, Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭa-Siddhānta*, Madhayamādhikāra, I. 26; Bhāskara I's *Mahābhāskarīya*, I.4, and *Laghubhāskarīya*, I.4; Śrīpati's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, I.25; Bhāskara II's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, Gaṇita., Madhyama., Kālamāna., 28.

9. *Cf.* VT, *Popular Astronomy*, 137; Kota Venkatachelam, *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, Appendix, p. xxx.

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with the Sandracottus of the Greeks, and not Candragupta Maurya, which latter identification has been taken by the European Indologists as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, and the chronology of the dynasties before and after that time is established. Now the identification of *Śakakāla* with *Śālivāhana Śaka* stands in their way. Hence their attempt to identify it with the so-called Cyrus or Andhra Era whose very existence is a matter of dispute, there being no evidence for it.

Most historians have not taken these people seriously, thinking that the very extravagance of their claims would be a deterrent to the acceptance of their views. But attempts have been made by Professors Gulshan Rai and VT to give astronomical and mathematical proofs to show that Varāhamihira (VM) belongs to 123 B.C. and not to 505 A.D., (as he is generally believed to be), and thereby that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by VM is the Cyrus or Andhra Era.[10] They also attempt to show that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala as stated above is the Cyrus or Andhra Era, and therefore the Śaka year 888 given by him corresponds to 338 or 339 A.D.;[11] which would mean that Brahmagupta, Āryabhaṭa, Bhāskara I etc. must precede this date, as explained below in this article. The present article is intended to expose the hollowness of the above theory and to show that the astronomical arguments adduced in support of it (which to the lay reader may look formidable) are erroneous, and thus knock the bottom out of the claims of this set of writers.

Varāhamihira uses the word *Śakakāla* in two places in his works.

(1) In the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* he says:

āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati pṛthvīm yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau /
ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ Śakakālas tasya rājñaś ca // XIII. 3

10. *JPUHS* I (1932) 124-27; and *JIH* 28 (1950) 103ff and *JAHRS* 22 (1952-54) 172. Following his change to 551 B.C. as the *Śaka Epoch*, in his *Popular Astronomy*, VT has changed VM to 124 B.C. from 123 B.C. But the arguments for the refutation of 123 B.C. are applicable *in toto* for the refutation of 124 B.C. also.

11. *JPUHS* I (1932) 73 (date given 338 A.D.), and *JIH* 28 (1950) 123 (date given 339 A.D. In his *Popular Astronomy* VT has shifted this to 338 A.D. But in his 'Andhra Saka' VT gives this date as 340 A.D. (*ib.*, p. 173).

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"The Sapta-ṛṣis were in the asterismal segment Magha when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling over the earth. Any date by the Śaka Era plus 2526 gives the date in the Yudhiṣṭhira Era."

(2) In his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (*PS*) the following occurs:

sapta-aśvi-veda-saṅkhyam Śakakālam apāsya caitra-śuklādu / ardhāstamite bhānau yavanapure somadivasādye // I.8 / /[12]

"Deducting 427 from the Śaka Era, at the beginning of the light half of Caitra, which falls near sunset at Yavanapura, beginning a Monday ..."

In (1) a synchronism is found between the *Śaka Era* and the *Yudhiṣṭhira Era*. I shall not discuss this synchronism here but rest content with saying that whatever be the *Śakakāla* mentioned in (2), it is highly probable that the same is mentioned by (1). In (2), it is clear, the epoch of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* is given as 427 *Śaka* elapsed, which means the date of the work must be c. 427 *Śaka*, and thus VM's time can be fixed. If as VT and others say the *Śakakāla* meant here is the Cyrus or Andhra Era of 550 B.C., then the date of VM must be 427 years after 550 B.C., *i.e.*, 123 B.C., which Gulshan Rai and VT have tried to establish by their special arguments. If it is the same as the *Śālivāhana Śaka*, then VM's date must be 427 years after 78 A.D., *i.e.*, 505 A.D.

Here we do not propose to go into the question whether there was a *Śaka Era* beginning from 550 B.C. or whether it is necessary to postulate such an era in view of the reference in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* śloka quoted above. We shall confine ourselves to showing that the *Śakakāla of VM's PS is the Śālivāhana Śaka, and therefore* 427 *Śaka* (*elapsed*) *corresponds to* 505 *A.D.* As we have stated before, we shall also show that the special arguments to the contrary advocated by Gulshan Rai and VT and their conclusion that VM's date is 123 B.C. cannot stand.

12. *Somadivasādye* is the reading as emended by the late Dr. Thibaut and MM. Sudhakara Dvivedi in their edition of the *PS*. From the two manuscripts of the work available for the edition and from quotations elsewhere, four readings are known: *saumya-divasādye, bhaumya-divasādyaḥ, bhauma-divasādyaḥ* and *bhauma-divasākhyaḥ*. On the propriety or correctness of these readings see below.

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Internal Evidence for Śālivāhana Śaka

There is plenty of internal evidence to show that the date meant by VM is 505 A.D. and not 123 B.C. It consists of the many *Kṣepas* (values of the Mean longitudes etc. at Epoch) found in the work, and the names of certain authors which it mentions. We shall take the *Kṣepas* first.

In *PS* I.14, VM gives a *Saura* period of 1,80,000 years or revolutions of the Sun, in which there are 66,389 intercalary months and 10,45,095 Suppressed *Tithis*. From this we can get that there are in this period 2,406,389 revolutions of the Moon and 65,746,575 Civil days. Comparing this with the *Yuga-elements* derivable from the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*[13] of Brahmagupta (which follows the *Ārdharātrika* system of Āryabhaṭa and whose elements are identical with those of a *Pauliśa Siddhānta* quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary of the *Bṛhat Samhitā*),[14] — not the *Pauliśa* of the *PS* — we find that this is only a *sub-yuga* forming a twentyfourth part of the *Yuga* given by them, and this suggests that the *Yuga*-elements of the original *Saura Siddhānta*, of which the *Saura* of the *PS* is a compendium, are identical with those of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* etc. mentioned above; these elements, therefore, may also be called hereafter, the *Saura* elements. Now all these systems have arrived at 0° Mean longitude for the Sun, Moon, Mars etc., 3 *rāśis* for the Moon's *ucca* (Apogee), and 6 *rāśis* for *Rāhu's head* (Moon's Ascending Node), at the beginning of *Kali yuga, viz.*, midnight at Ujjain, Thursday/Friday, 17/18, February, 3102 B.C. Taking that *Śaka* 427 mentioned in *P.S.* I.8, refers to *Śālivāhana Saka* 427, (equivalent to 3606 Mean Solar years after the beginning of *Kali*), we have 1,317,123 days, 3 *nāḍis* 9 *vināḍis* gone in *Kali*, and arrive at 3 *nāḍis*, 9 *vināḍis*, after the midnight at Ujjain, Sunday/Monday, 20/21 March 505 A.D.[15] The *Saura* of the *PS* takes this midnight as the Epoch for the computation of

13. *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, (Tr. P. C. Sengupta. Calcutta, 1934), I. 3-5, 13, 14; II. 1-5.

14. Cf. *Bṛhat Samhitā*. Ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Banaras, 1895, Pt. I, pp. 28-30.

15. 3606 after Kali is not 504 A.D. as some people may think. As there is no zero year B.C. or A.D., we apparently arrive at a date one year later than the correct date. For errors of this kind see Kota Venkatachelam, *JAHRS* 21 (1950-52) 4, 7 etc.; Gulshan Rai, *JPUHS*, *ib.* 73, 127.

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its Star-planets (*Tārā-grahas*), *viz.*, Mars etc. If we compute the Mean Mars etc. for this epoch, using the Saura elements, *the results agree with the respective Kṣepas given in the PS* to the second in the case of Jupiter and Saturn, within 4″ in the case of Mars and Venus, and 7″ in the case of Mercury. Even this small difference is due to VM having arrived at the *Kṣepas* using the shortcut given by him in the *Karaṇa* and the number of days gone in *Kali* as the *Ahargaṇa* (days from epoch).[16] If we do the same there is complete agreement in the case of Venus also, and the difference is reduced to 2″ in the case of Mars. In the case of Mercury there is difference of a few seconds still, which may be due either to VM desiring to give its *Kṣepa* correct to the minute only, or to some defect in the manuscript reading which has omitted the seconds; and one of the manuscripts has actually a reading *'vilipti'* here.[17] For the Mean Sun and Moon, and the Moon's *Ucca* and *Rāhu*, the epoch taken is the Midday at Ujjain just preceding the epoch of the Star-planets, *i.e.*, the midday of Sunday.[18] Here too, checking the *Kṣepas* in the manner given for the Star-planets, we find perfect agreement in the case of the Sun and Moon, and agreement within 4″ in the case of the *Ucca*. In the case of *Rāhu* the available manuscripts are so vitiated that Thibaut and Sudhakara Dvivedi (T-S) have failed to give the *Kṣepa* fully. Using the letters available in the manuscripts, the relevant verse may be read as:

trighanaśataghne navakaikapakṣarāmendudahanaṣaṭsahite /
svarayamavasubhūtārṇavaguṇadhṛti-bhakte kramād rāhoḥ //
IX.6 //

The *Kṣepa* for *Rāhu* enunciated in this verse as reconstructed above, agrees within 1″ with its value according to the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* elements.[19]

This perfect agreement is the reason why S. B. Dikshit has retained the date March 505 A.D. in spite of the difficulties he

16. *PS* ch. XVI. (Thibaut and Sudhakara Dvivedi's Edn. Reprinted by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1930).
17. See under *PS* XVI. 9, *'davo vilipti'*.
18. *PS* IX. 1.
19. S. B. Dikshit has arrived at the same result independently. See his article, 'The Original Sūrya-Siddhānta', *Indian Antiquary* (*IA*) 19 (1890) 49, 54.

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encountered in interpreting *PS* I.8 with reference to the *Saura*.[20] For, *no date, within many thousand years before or after* 505 *A.D will agree with the Kṣepas in the manner shown above,* not to speak of 123 B.C. When such is the case, VT quoting from Dikshit,[21] a passage, which to those that have not read Dikshit's article in full will appear to involve an irremediable contradiction, says that 505 A.D. should be abandoned in favour of 123 B.C. on account of this. As the manner of VT's quoting[22] from the article may create an impression in the readers' minds which Dikshit did not intend, and as VT himself concludes from the quotation that the agreement in the *Kṣepas* discovered by Dikshit is null and void, and as he does not realise (as seen from his remarks under the quotation) that if he gives 123 B.C. for VM, he still has the responsibility to point out that the *Kṣepas* agree with his date, we intend making the discussion a little elaborate so that we may give Dikshit's views in full with some pertinent observations on them.

The *Saura Epoch* occurs before the *True Vaiśākha Śukla Pratipad,* ending on Tuesday. Dikshit wants to reconcile this with the statement in *PS* I.8, *caitra-śuklādau.* He considers the point that according to *Mean* reckoning, it is '*Adhika*' *Caitra Śukla,* but dismisses it, giving two objections: i. Why does not VM use the term '*adhika-caitra-śuklādau*' ? ii. Why should he take the *Adhika Caitra* instead of the *regular Caitra* for the Epoch ?[23] Dikshit concludes by saying that '*caitra-śulklādau*' might stand, because *Amānta-Vaiśākha-Śukla* is *Caitra-Śukla* according to *Pūrṇimānta* reckoning. So there is no trouble at all for Dikshit as far as this goes. Therefore there is no need for VT to abandon 505 A.D., go to 123 B.C. and show that the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of this year occurs on a Wednesday, which weekday also is admissible according to one manuscript reading.[24] (*Cf.* the readings given above). It should be

20. *Dikshit, Ib.*, 45-54.
21. *Ib.*, 46-47.
22. *JIH* 28 (1950), 108.
23. It will be shown below that there is absolutely no weight in either of these objections.
24. If it is 124 B.C., to which VT has shifted in his *Popular Astronomy,* the weekday is Thursday, and this is an additional argument against his date.

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remembered that VT can score a point only if the weekday, *viz.* Wednesday of the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of 123 B.C. *alone* can effect the reconciliation, and not the Tuesday of the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of 505 A.D.

But really speaking, there is no need to reconcile the *Saura* with any part of *PS* I.8, because it has reference only to the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa*. (If it can be applied to the *Saura also*, as indeed it can, it is good, but we have no right to demand it as Dikshit does.)[25] *PS* I.8-10 give the computation of *Ahargaṇa* according to the *Romaka;* and I.8 and 11 (and perhaps also 12 and 13) according to the *Pauliśa*. I.8 gives the Epoch, which is thus the same for both. The Epoch is the beginning of *Caitra Śukla* which ends 427 *Śaka,* and the exact time is sunset at Yavanapura[26] beginning Monday, *i.e.,* 7 *nāḍis,* 20 *vināḍis* after sunset at Ujjain. This is equivalent to 37 *nāḍis* 20 *vināḍis* after Ujjain sunrise on Sunday, 20th March 505 A.D. The *Ahargaṇa* with which to compute the Mean Sun etc. must be reckoned from this point for *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa,* and their *Kṣepas* are for this point. The expression "*caitra-śuklādau*" is an indication that the months gone are to be counted from *Caitra* in computing the *Ahargaṇa,* and the words "beginning Monday" is a check for the *Ahargaṇa,* Monday being stated to be the first day of the *Ahargaṇa*. For, the *Ahargaṇa* got by computation may be a day more or less than the correct one (a fact wellknown to astronomers) because the '*varying*' *True Tithi* has got to be used in the formula; and checking by Monday beginning from the Epoch, *viz.,* 0 *Ahargaṇa,* it may happen that one day has got to be added or subtracted. This can be made clear by an example.

Problem : What is the *Ahargaṇa* for Saturday beginning, next to the Epoch ? By counting we see we must get 5 days for *Ahar-*

25. *Ib. IA* 19 (1890) 45ff.

26. VT has mistaken (*JIH* 28, p. 108; *JAHRS* 22, p. 172) Yavanapura for Romakapura, and giving it a longitude of 90° west of Ujjain implies a *deśāntara* of 15 *nāḍis* instead of 7 *nāḍis* 20 *vināḍis* which is specifically given as the *deśāntara* for it, in *PS* III. 13:

yavanāntarajā nāḍyaḥ sapta avantyām tribhāga-saṁyuktāḥ ||

For an explicit mention see *PS* XV. 25:

anyad Romaka-viṣayād deśāntaram anyad eva Yavanapurāt |

Yavanapura would correspond to Alexandria as calculated from the *deśāntara*.

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gaṇa. Let us now compute it. By the *Romaka* or *Pauliśa* (or even *Saura*) almanac, the *Tithi* gone at Saturday beginning is *Caitra Śukla Caturthi*. Using it in the above formulae enunciated in *PS* I.8-11, 4 is got as *Ahargaṇa*. But counting from Monday, 4 will give only Friday beginning. So we must add 1, and give 5 as the correct *Ahargaṇa* if it should agree with Saturday beginning. We see here the use of the check. This is the purpose for which the weekday beginning the Epoch is given, and not to satisfy the curiosity of the reader. From this we can see that 'Monday' is necessary, and 'Tuesday' or 'Wednesday' will be wrong. So in *PS* I.8, '*soma-divasādye*' or '*soma-divasādyaḥ*' must have been VM's original reading. '*Bhauma*' must have been a scribal error, or the correction of some revisor who did not understand what was necessary, but thought that the weekday of the *True* Śuklapratipada gone must be given here, and this must have given rise to '*saumya*', a mixing of the two. Here T-S have rightly given the emendation '*soma-divasādye*'. I may venture to give another suggestion, even if it may not appear very convincing to some. The emendation of T-S is not really essential and we can adopt the manuscript reading '*saumya*' as such and take it in the *yaugika* (derivative) sense, meaning 'day pertaining to the Moon', *i.e.* Monday. Though there is the dictum '*Rūḍhir yogam apaharati*' (the meaning obtained by usage is stronger than that got by derivation), still at such an ancient period as VM's, when the weekdays must have come into use very recently, the word *Saumya-divasa* might not have become *rūḍha* in *budha-vāra* as it is now. Also when other things require the derivative sense, we are permitted to abandon the *rūḍha* sense.

The above discussion has been necessitated here by a desire to remove any doubt created in the readers' minds by Dikshit's dissatisfaction, which may be interpreted as going against the case for 505 A.D.[27]

We may now proceed to show that the *Kṣepas* of the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa* also, as well as the *Adhimāsa* and *Avamaśeṣas* of their rules for *Ahargaṇa*, agree with 505 A.D. and not with 123 B.C. We have seen that the Epoch for the *Romaka* and *Pauliśa* is 37

27. It is only dissatisfaction and nothing more, and it may be noted that Dikshit himself gives reasons for the adoption of 505 A.D. (*Ib.*, p. 46).

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nāḍis, 20 *vināḍis* from sunrise at Ujjain on Sunday, 20 March 505 A.D. (It must be noted that Dikshit does not question this.) The *Romaka* Mean Sun at Epoch can be seen to be 359° 34½′ by taking the *Ahargaṇa* as zero in *PS* VIII.1, and working with the *Kṣepa* left. This means that 26 *nāḍis* after Epoch, the Mean Solar month *Meṣa* begins. In the same way we get the Mean Moon at Epoch from *PS* VIII.4, to be 356° 12′, using the emended reading '*kṛtāṣṭanavakhaika*'; if the reading '*kṛtāṣṭanavakaika*' found in the manuscript and followed by T-S and Dikshit is used, it is 359° 19′ at Epoch for T-S, and 2° 24′ for Dikshit who takes that the Moon is given for sunset at Ujjain. From this we see that the Mean New Moon according to our interpretation will take place at 16 *nāḍis,* 36 *vināḍis* after Epoch, *i.e.,* 9 *nāḍis,* 24 *vināḍis* before the Mean Sun comes to *Meṣa.* According to T-S's value for the Moon, it is 24 *nāḍis,* 42 *vināḍis* before the Mean Sun at *Meṣa;* and according to Dikshit, 32 *nāḍis.* It must be noted that according to all the three interpretations, the Mean New Moon just *precedes* the Mean Solar year; *i.e.,* the New Moon end begins the Mean *Caitra* and is very near the Epoch.[28] The corresponding *Kṣepas* of the *Pauliśa* also will be found to give the same result. Thus the word *Caitra* in *PS* I.8 presents no difficulty, as it is mentioned only in relation to the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa.* Also the *Avama* and the *Adhimāsa Śeṣas* of the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa* found in *PS* I. 9-11, agree, within the limits of accuracy, with the time of the day when the respective New Moon occurs, and its distance from the beginning of the Mean Solar year as found from *PS* VIII and III. From the foregoing facts we see that the beginning of *Caitra* should fall very near the beginning of the Mean Solar year, *which it does if we take* 505 *A.D. If* 123 *B.C. is taken, it is about* 20 *days away,* and so there is disagreement with the *Kṣepas* of *PS* I.8-11, and those of the Sun and the Moon in *PS* III, VIII and IX.

In the case of the *Saura,* an examination of the Sun's and Moon's *Kṣepas* given in *PS* IX. 1-2 will show that the Mean Solar

28. It may be asked why only the Mean Caitra and the Mean Solar year are taken into consideration in this explanation. It is because the word *Caitra* is given in the context of the *Ahargaṇa* rule, whose constants, multipliers and divisors depend upon the Mean Sun and Moon. If we use the *True month* and *Tithi* in the computation, it is because we have no othergo and that is why there has to be the check by the weekday of the Epoch.

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year ends at 3 *nāḍis,* 9 *vināḍis* after midnight, Sunday/Monday, 20/21 March, (as we have already shown) and the Mean New Moon falls about 12 *nāḍis,* 30 *vināḍis* after the Mean Solar year. Thus there is a Mean *Adhimāsa* following the Epoch of the Star-planets, *i.e.,* midnight, which can be called *Caitra,* as Dikshit himself has accepted.[29] As it is very close to (*i.e.* only 12 *nāḍis,* 30 *vināḍis* from) the beginning of the Mean Solar year, and as in computing the *Ahargaṇa* the practice is to see whether an *Adhimāsa* has taken place or not in the months gone used for reckoning, and adjust the number of *adhimāsas* got by adding one or reducing the *adhimāsas* by one, by treating a large *adhimāsa-śeṣa* as unity or not counting one just got by computation, no harm will ensue if this *Adhika-Caitra* is treated as *regular Caitra,* taking the previous *regular Caitra* as *Adhika-Phālguna.* And there is the advantage of dispensing with a *Kṣepa* for months gone at Epoch. So even if *PS* I.8 applies to the *Saura* as Dikshit thinks, the objection which he has to using the term '*caitrādau*' for this vanishes, and there is no need to explain it in the manner he has done.[30] Thus all the difficulties raised by Dikshit are answered, and not a trace of any objection for 505 A.D. is left.

We may now proceed to give another piece of evidence to show that the date cannot be 123 B.C. In *PS* XV we find the following śloka:

laṅkārdharātrasamaye dinapravṛttim jagāda cāryabhaṭaḥ/
bhūyas sa eva sūryodayāt prāha laṅkāyām// 20//

Here is a reference made by VM to Āryabhaṭa and his two works, the well-known *Āryabhaṭīya,* and his less known work referred to by later authors as his '*Ārdharātrika System*', manuscripts of which are yet to be discovered, but whose nature is fully given by Bhāskara I (6th-7th cent.) in his *Mahābhāskarīya.*[31] In the *Kālakriyāpāda* of his *Āryabhaṭīya,* Āryabhaṭa says:

29. The rule giving this is this:
ravisaṅkramaṇād ūrdhvam yo yo māsaḥ prapūryate cāndraḥ |
caitrādiḥ sa jñeyaḥ pūrtidvitve 'dhimāso 'ntyaḥ ||
30. Dikshit, *Ib.,* p. 51.
31. *Mahābhāskarīya,* (Ed. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, Madras, 1957), VII. 21-35. See also the Editor's Introduction to this edition, pp. xliv-vi.

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ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir yadā vyatītās trayaś ca yugapādāḥ/
tryadhikā viṁśatir abdās tadeha mama janmano 'tītāḥ //
10 //[32]

This says that at 3600 *Kali* (expired) Āryabhaṭa had completed twenty-three years of age, and 3600 *Kali* is 499 A.D. VM's reference is certainly to this Āryabhaṭa as can be gathered from the mention of him as the author of both the *Ārdharātrika* and the *Audayika* systems. It follows from this that VM must be later or at least a contemporary of this Āryabhaṭa. So VM can belong to 505 A.D. and not to 123 B.C. Thus all internal evidence—and we have seen plenty of it—points to 505 A.D. as the time of VM.

The Ayanāṁśa Argument examined

Now Profs. Rai and VT have advanced an argument based on *Ayanāṁśa* to show that VM must be as early as 123 B.C.[33] Being interspersed with mathematics, this argument may seem unassailable to some, unless its hollowness is exposed. Being more full, we may discuss VT first. What VT says may be put succinctly as follows: (i) At the time of VM the Summer Solstice was at the *end* of the asterismal segment *Punarvasu,* (or what comes to the same thing, the Vernal Equinox had a longitude of 3° 20′ reckoned from the Zero Point of the Ecliptic), as gathered from VM's own statements in the *PS* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā.* (ii) Taking the *Ayanāṁśa* (*i.e.* the total precession) to be *zero* at VM's time, there is an *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15′ in April 1909 A.D. (It comes to this: The Vernal Equinox has receded 28° 15′ from the original position of 3° 20′, and its position in 1909 is 335° 5′

32. There is a suggestion by some to emend *ṣaṣṭiḥ* into *ṣaḍbhiḥ* and take Āryabhaṭa to 360 Kali (*e.g.*, Kota Venkatachelam, *The Plot in Indian Chrology*, Ap. III, p. xxi). But with *ṣaḍbhiḥ* the word *ca* in the verse becomes meaningless. Also manuscripts of the work give only *ṣaṣṭiḥ* and all known ancient commentaries explain the verse only with *ṣaṣṭiḥ; Cf. Bhāskara I's Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya: ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭiḥ, ṣaṣṭirabdāḥ ṣaṣṭiguṇāḥ ityarthaḥ;* Sūryadeva Yajvan's *Āryabhaṭaprakāśa: ṣaṭśatādhika-trisahasramiteṣu* (3600) *sūryābdeṣu gateṣu;* Parameśvara's *Bhaṭadīpikā : ṣaṭśatādhika-sahasratraya* (3600) (Edn. Kern. Leiden, 1874, p. 58); Gārgyakerala Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji's *Bhāṣya....ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭeḥ....kaler ārabhya ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir gatā....idānīm prakṛtistham ayanam* (*TSS* 110, pp. 12-13).

33. Rai, *JPUHS* I (1932) 124-27; VT, *JIH* 28 (1950) 104-06.

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from the Zero Point of the Ecliptic). (iii) Using the correct rate of precession (*ayana-calana*) per annum, 50″.2585 — n X 0″.000225, where n is the number of years *before* 1909, for a precession of 28° 15′ to take place n must be 2031 years. (iv) This means 2031 years before 1909, *i.e.* in 123 B.C., the *Ayanāṁśa* was zero, and therefore 123 B.C. is the date of *PS*.

We admit that if (i) and (ii) are correct, (iii) and (iv) follow automatically. But (i) and (ii) are not correct, as we shall show. Relating (i) there are the following three ślokas of VM, which are quoted by VT also.[34]

āśleṣārdhād dakṣiṇam uttaram ayanam raver dhaniṣṭhādyam/
nūnam kadācid āsīd yenoktam pūrvaśāstreṣu//

sāmpratam ayanam savituḥ karkaṭakādyam mṛgāditaś cānyat/
uktābhāvo(?ve)vikṛtiḥpratyakṣaparīkṣaṇaiṛvyaktiḥ//
Bṛ. Sam. III.1-2 //

āśleṣārdhād āsīd yadā nivṛttiḥ kiloṣṇakiraṇasya/
yuktam ayanam tadā 'sīt, sāmpratam ayanam Punarvasutaḥ //
PS III.21 //

"Certainly at one time the turning of the Sun towards the south was from the middle of the *Āśleṣa* segment, and the turning north was from the beginning of the *Dhaniṣṭhā* segment, because this is mentioned in ancient works.

"But now the turnings are from the beginning of the *Karkaṭaka* and *Makara rāśi* segments respectively. If this does not happen (in future, on account of precession), the amount of precession is to be determined by observation". (*Bṛ. Sam.* III.1-2).

"When the Sun turned away south from the middle of *Āśleṣa*, it was proper for that time. But now the turning away is from *Punarvasu*." (*PS* III.21).

Now in the śloka from the *PS*, "from the middle of *Āśleṣa*" corresponds to the same phrase in the quotation from the *Bṛ. Saṁ.* III.1; and "from *Punarvasu*" corresponds to "the beginning of *Karkaṭaka*" in *Bṛ. Sam.* III.2 above, the same phenomenon of precession being described in both. So "from *Punarvasu*" must

34. *Ib.*, p. 104.

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be taken to mean a point three quarters from the beginning of the segment, for that is the point corresponding to the beginning of *Karkaṭaka*. But VT who wants the end of *Punarvasu* to be the turning point, wants us to shut our eyes to the specific reference to the "beginning" of *Karkaṭaka*, and take it to mean "somewhere" in *Karkaṭaka*, giving the reason that the word is found in a *mere Saṁhitā* and not in a *Karaṇa* like the *PS*. It seems he has not taken note of the many passages in the *PS* itself that specifies the '*beginning*' of *Karkaṭaka* as the point. For instance, in the śloka next but one, *i.e. PS* III.23, we find "*meṣa-tulādau viṣuvad*", "at the *beginning* of *Meṣa* and *Tulā* are the Equinoxes". One śloka later we have again:

> "*udagayanam makarādau ṛtavaḥ śiśirādayaś ca sūryavaśāt/*
> *dvibhavanakālasamānam, dakṣiṇam ayanam ca karkaṭakāt //*
> *PS* III.25//

In XIII.10, we have "At the *end of Mithuna* the Sun revolves at an altitude of 24° at the N. Pole".

Also VT says that *Punarvasutaḥ* can mean *only from the "end of Punarvasu"*. This interpretation is wrong. It only means "from *Punarvasu*", and can mean any point in it. *Grāmataḥ pattanam pratiṣṭhate* does not *only* mean 'he starts from the border of the village'. It can mean any point in the village.

Further, the context in which *āśleṣārdhāt* etc. is found itself specifies a point 1¾ segments from the middle of *Āśleṣā* and this point is three quarters of *Punarvasu*. In the immediately preceding śloka, VM states that *Vyatīpāta Puṇyakāla* occurs when Sun *plus* Moon equals 17 asterismal spaces, *i.e.* 17 X 13° 20′, or 226° 40′, as opposed to our expectation that it should occur at the middle of the 14th (*i.e.* at 180°) according to the definition given in the Śāstras.[35] There is a difference of 46° 40′ or 3½ spaces that has to be explained. As *Yoga* is obtained from the combined longitudes of the Sun and the Moon, a change of 1¾ asterismal

35. See for instance, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, XI. 1-2:
ekāyanagatau syātām sūryācandramasau yadā |
tadyutau maṇḍale krāntyos tulyatve vaidhṛtābhidhaḥ ||
viparītāyanagatau candrārkau krāntiliptikāḥ |
samās tadvad vyatīpāto bhagaṇārdhe tayor yutau ||

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segments in the longitudes of each, caused by the shifting of the origin of reference will explain the difference of the 3½ spaces. This shifting of the origin, by the precession of the equinoxes, is mentioned in *āśleṣārdhāt* etc., and this must be 1¾ segments as required, and the point at ¾ *Punarvasu* follows, for it is this point that is 1¾ segments behind the middle of *Āśleṣā*.[36]

Still another proof can be adduced to show that ¾ *Punarvasu* is to be considered as the point in question. If it is the end of *Punarvasu*, the Vernal Equinox is, as I have already stated, at +3° 20′ from the zero point from which the longitudes of the Sun, the Moon etc. are reckoned. So to get the declination of the Sun etc., to compute the daylight, the shadow and other things, in short for all work usually given in the *Tripraśnādhikāra* of a *Siddhānta*, we must be instructed to deduct 3° 20′ from the longitudes got by computation, and use this for the calculation, as the longitudes from the Vernal Equinox are to be used here. In as much as such an instruction has not been given anywhere in the text, we must take it that the zero point and the Vernal Equinox were coincident, which means that the Summer Solstice was at ¾ *Punarvasu*. Now in (ii), VT has budgetted for an *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15′. But the above fact will result in a cut of 3° 20′, and VM will be lifted 240 years from the intended 123 B.C. towards his true place, 505 A.D.

Now we may pass on to consider (ii), *viz.*, VT's statement that in April 1909 A.D. there is an *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15′, taking it to be zero at VM's time, when according to VT the Vernal Equinox was +3° 20′ from the zero point. VT makes up the 28° 15′ necessary for him by piecing together four different quantities: (a) the distance between the Vernal Equinox and the zero point, both referring to VM's time, equal to 3° 20′; (b) the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's (LDS) calculation of the *Ayanāṁśa* in 1909 to be 22° 25′ which is the equivalent in degrees of the time from the Sun at the Vernal Equinox of 1909 to its entering

36. For a fuller discussion, see the writer's Introduction to his edition of *Mahābhāskarīya*, Madras, 1957, pp. xxv-xxxv. Further, as VT has not brought into the argument either the *Caitra* or the *Dhaniṣṭha Pakṣa* of the zero-point of the Ecliptic, we have avoided dragging them in and confusing the issue.

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the Sign *Meṣa* in the same year according to *Sūrya Siddhānta;* (c) what VT calls a *Bīja* (*i.e.* correction) of 2·18 days, equivalent to 2° 9′; and (d) an error of observation equal to 16′. Of these four quantities, we have already seen that VT cannot have (a), by the fact that the Summer Solstice was at ¾ *Punarvasu* and not at the end of *Punarvasu* in VM's time. So 3° 20′ is cut off from the 28° 15′. We shall not discuss (d), for we can readily concede his modest demand of 16′ as error of observation, except to point out what mischief even this can do. That leaves us (b) and (c) to deal with.

We shall take (b) first. VT uses the *Ayanāṁśa* 22° 25′ calculated by LDS in a manner not intended by him. To understand how it is so, it is necessary to make clear the principle involved in the calculation.[37] LDS found from the *Nautical Almanac* that at 0·2143 day on the 21st March 1909, the True Sun was at the Vernal Equinox. He found that according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (modern, not the *Saura* of *PS*), the True Sun reached the *First Point of Meṣa at* 0·9492 day on 12th April 1909. From the difference between the two moments equal to 22·7349 days, using the rate of motion of the sun at that interval, he calculated the *Ayanāṁśa* to be 22° 25′. Suppose LDS had used the time of the True Sun at *Meṣa* (*Meṣa Saṅkramaṇa* as it is called) of some other *Siddhānta* or some other Almanac like the *Dṛk Almanac* or *Vākya Almanac,* he would have got different *Ayanāṁśas* (for it is a well-known fact that Almanacs vary in their times of *Saṅkramaṇa*). Which *Ayanāṁśa* are we to adopt? Which is the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*? By 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa* is meant the total precession in degrees, of the Vernal Equinox, from a specific point on the Ecliptic which we call the Zero Point, during the interval between 1909 and the time when we take the Vernal Equinox to coincide with the Zero Point, in our case the time of VM. According to this criterion none of the present-day Almanacs gives the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*. The following is the reason: If the length of the year adopted by an almanac is the correct Siderial year, *viz.,* 365 days, 15 *nāḍis,* 22·9 *vināḍis,* so that at the end of every year the Sun returns to the specified

37. See LDS, *An Indian Ephemeris,* Madras, 1922, Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 457-58: "Appendix (ii) Luni-Solar Precession as applied to Indian Astronomy—The year of *Śūnya-ayanāṁśa,* A.D. 533, how determined".

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Zero Point, then this way of finding the *Ayanāṁśa* will yield the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*. But the old system Indian Almanacs use instead of the above correct Siderial year, the Siderial year of the *Āryabhaṭīya* (365-15-31-15, adopted by the *Vākya Almanacs*), or of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta* (365-15-31-31, adopted generally by LDS in his *Ephemeris*) and the like, which though called Siderial, are very nearly Anomalistic, being about 8·5 or 8·6 *vināḍis* longer than the correct Siderial year. As a result, the *First Point of Meṣa* moves forward leaving the Zero Point behind at the rate of 8·5″ per annum. So if we adopt LDS's method of using the time of the True Sun at the *First Point of Meṣa* according to a particular Almanac to get the *Ayanāṁśa,* we must deduct from the *gross Ayanāṁśa* got, the accumulated interval between the Zero Point and the *First Point of Meṣa* of that Almanac, to get the correct *Ayanāṁśa*. (This accumulated interval may be called the '*Procession*' of the *First Point of Meṣa* for that Almanac). It is this *correct Ayanāṁśa* that should be divided by the *correct rate of precession* of 50″·2585 etc. to get the year when the Vernal Exquinox was at the Zero Point. If on the other hand we use the *gross Ayanāṁśa got* by LDS's method, we should divide it by the *gross rate of precession,* (which is the correct rate of precession '*plus*' about 8·5″), to get the year; for the *gross Ayanāṁśa* increases not by the correct rate of precession but by the *gross rate of precession, viz.* 50″·2585 etc. etc. increased by about 8·5″. This is the reason why most Indian systems give nearly 1′ as the rate of precession. The reader will find my statement corroborated by sections 64 and 277 of LDS's *Indian Chronology* (Madras, 1911).

This is the reason why LDS divided his *gross Ayanāṁśa* by 58″·78 and got 536 A.D. for VM as a first approximation.[37a] The gross rate of precession 58″·78 is got from the rate of *procession* (viz. 8″·52) *plus the rate of correct precession,* 50″·26. for it is at this combined rate of 58″·78 that the Vernal Equinox recedes with reference to the *First Point of Meṣa,* per annum. From this we see it is wrong to use for this purpose the actual rate of precession given by the system, if any, as for *eg.* 54″ per annum in the case of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta* or 1′ per annum in the case of certain other Siddhāntas, and so on; for these

37a. Using this date LDS gets 533 A.D. as the correct date.

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Siddhāntas have found the rates of precession by actual observation of the Sun at the Vernal Equinox, and there is likely to be an error in the observation. According to the error the rates may vary. The nearer their rates are to 58″·78, the better are their observations.

It is incumbant on our part, in the present context, to answer certain remarks made by VT on the above procedure of LDS. VT remarks:[38] "There are the following drawbacks in the whole argument (of LDS):

"(a) It was considered that Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the beginning of Karkataka instead of the end of Punarvasu.

"(b) The fact that the modern tropical year goes on decreasing at the rate of 0·53 seconds per century was not taken into consideration.

"(c) At least at the time of Varahamihira, the Indian Siderial year—so designated at present—was really a tropical year and the value for the precession of the equinoxes must be taken as 50″·2585 — n X ·000225″ and not as 54″·7505 as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai".

Of these (a) has already been answered. As for (b), in the 14 centuries considered by LDS the time neglected by him is about 56 seconds, equivalent to 2″ of the Sun's motion. Is this not negligible in the context? As for (c) this is against the internal evidence of the *PS*. Excepting the *Vāsiṣṭha* and the *Romaka*, all the other *Siddhāntas* in it give Siderial years. The *Pauliśa* gives 365 days, 15 *nāḍikās*, and 30 *viṇāḍikās*, the *Saura*, 365-15-31-30, and the *Paitāmaha* 366 days. By what stretch of imagination can these be called Tropical years, these years that are so far greater than the correct Siderial year that they border on the Anomalistic? As for LDS not taking 50″·2585 for division, we have answered it by saying that this would be proper only if the correct Siderial year, 365-15-22·9, had been used throughout the period of which we are considering the *Ayanāṁśa*. Secondly, where has LDS assumed a rate of precession of 54″·7505, and in which context?

38. His article, *JIH* 28 (1950) 105.

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It should not be thought that because the modern *Dṛk Almanacs* use the correct Siderial year equal to 365-15-22·9, the time of the True Sun at their *First point of Meṣa* will give the correct *Ayanāṁśa*. These Almanacs were started recently and they arbitrarily fixed for themselves such *Ayanāṁśas* as would keep their *Saṅkramaṇas* within reasonable distance from those of the old Almanacs. The very fact that the *Saṅkramaṇas* vary only within a matter of *nāḍis*, shows this, for considering the difference between the correct Tropical year and the so-called Tropical years of our *Siddhāntas*, even within a period of 420 years there will be a difference of one day, and for the period we are considering, *viz.* 1400 years or more, there should be a difference of more than three days, the *Dṛk Saṅkramaṇas* occurring earlier. To avoid the hue and cry that would be raised if the *Saṅkramaṇas* in their Almanacs are found to occur thus more than three days earlier, the *Dṛk Almanac* makers fixed for themselves *Ayanāṁśas* that would keep their *Saṅkramaṇas* near enough to those of the old system Almanacs.[39] The *Caitra* or the *Dhaniṣṭha pakṣa* has come in handy for them to fix their *Ayanāṁśa* in this manner, but these *pakṣas* are contradictory to all schools of traditional astronomy which have adopted the *Raivata pakṣa* alone.[40]

To continue the main argument. As, in the manner already stated, the number of years got to be deducted from 1909 to find the Zero Point should be the same, whether we divide the *gross Ayanāṁśa* by the *gross rate* of precession, or the *correct Ayanāṁśa* by the *correct rate* of precession, and as the rates as in the ratio 7:6 approximately, the gross *Ayanāṁśa* found by LDS (by using the time of *Saṅkramaṇa* of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta*) should be reduced by one seventh of itself to get the equivalent *correct Ayanāṁśa*, which we find to be 19° 12′. So VT can have only 19° 12′ and not 22° 23′ by (b).

39. In 1925 the Almanac makers met in Conference at Poona and adopted an *Ayanāṁśa* of 22° 40′ 39″ for 1925 proposed by R. N. Apte, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, arrived at by taking the True Sun's position at Meṣa Saṅkramaṇa in that year according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as the zero point. On this see C. G. Rajan, *Rāja Jyotiṣa Gaṇitam*, (Madras, 1933), Section—Conversion of Heliocentric etc., ch. VI, p. 56.

40. C. G. Rajan gives the actual *Ayanāṁśa* according to the *Raivata-pakṣa* to be 18° 56′ 45″. 7 in 1925; see *Ib.*, p. 58.

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Now we pass on to (c). What VT says amounts to this: Kali began at midnight 17/18, February 3102 B.C. But most Ephimerides give 0·579 days after sunrise on 15th February as the Epoch of *Kaliyuga*. So there is a difference of 2·18 (?2·17) days which must be a *Bīja* correction. So we must add 2·18 days to the time of the True Sun reaching the *First Point of Meṣa* in (b), *viz.* 0·9492 on 12th April. Thus the interval in days is increased by 2·18 days; which means 2° 9′ more in *Ayanāṁśa*, which will make up the 28° 15′ required. Now what VT thinks to be a *Bīja* is really the interval between the times of the True and the Mean Suns reaching the *First Point of Meṣa*. According to Indian astronomy the Sun's Equation of the Centre is about 2° 9′ at the time of *Meṣa Saṅkramaṇa*. So the True Sun is in advance of the Mean Sun by 2° 9′ and reaches the *First Point of Meṣa* earlier by about 2·18 days. As the Apogee of the Sun has an extremely slow motion according to Hindu astronomy, the 2·18 days practically continue through the ages to be the same. In (b) LDS took for calculation the interval between the True Sun at the Vernal Equinox and the True Sun at the First Point of Meṣa which is quite proper. If he had taken the interval between the times of the Mean Sun at Vernal Equinox and the True Sun at the First Point, then indeed we shall be justified in adding 2·18 days; for then the interval first got would have been less by 2·18 days, on account of the Mean Sun reaching the Vernal Equinox later by 2·18 days than the True Sun. If we add 2·18 days, as we ought to now, we get the same interval of 22·735 days. Thus VT cannot have (c).

The error of observation, (d), is possible and may be allowed if required; but it must be remembered that it is arbitrary, indefinite and may be plus or minus. VT has taken (d) as error of observation, not from *a priori* considerations, but *a posteriori*, because this alone will give him, when added to the other quantities and divided by 50″·2585 etc., 2031 years to be deducted from 1909 and get 123 B.C. So the reader is warned against getting predisposed in favour of 123 B.C., simply because 1909 A.D. *minus* 2031 is exactly equal to 123 B.C., for this particular amount of error of observation has been arbitrarily presumed to get this very result.

In conclusion, we find that in VT's *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15′, (a) is cut off, (c) is cut off, (d) may be ignored, and (b) is reduced

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to about 19° 12′. If we divide this by the correct rate of precession, 50″·2585 etc., *we get* 534 *A.D. as VM's time. It may be noted how far away this is from* 123 *B.C., and how near it is to* 505 *A.D.*

The Ayanāṁśa argument of Prof. Rai (*JPUHS* I.124-27) is the same as VT's (a) and (b), with the difference that he takes (b) for 1931 instead of 1909. This amounts to 26° 3′ 40″ according to him, and committing the same mistake as VT of dividing this *Gross Ayanāṁśa* by the *actual rate of precession,* he says VM lived 1866 years before 1931, *i.e.,* in 65 A.D. Since this does not take him to the desired 123 B.C. Prof. Rai thinks that this descrepancy may be overcome by assuming an appropriate error of observation, which in this case has to be as large as 2 degrees or so!

With showing that 427 *Śaka* of VM is 505 A.D. and that the *Ayanāṁśa* argument is fallacious, the main object of this paper is over. It is unnecessary to discuss the ślokas from *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* quoted by these scholars enumerating the nine gems of Vikramāditya's court (*dhanvantari-kṣapaṇaka* etc.) and the year given therein; for in the light of the foregoing discussion these must be taken as part of a romance, or an attempt at imposture by the author of the work.[40a] Nobody will take seriously this śloka jumbling men of different ages together, as no one will take seriously the other romance, the *Bhoja Prabandha,* for matters of history.

The Date of Bhaṭṭotpala

Both Rai and VT seek additional evidence for VM's earlier date by making his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala himself earlier than 505 A.D.[41] We shall examine this now. Bhaṭṭotpala says at the end of his commentary on VM's *Bṛhajjātaka* that he finished writing it in *Śaka* 888 (elapsed) on *Caitra Śukla Pañcamī,* which was a Thursday:

caitramāsasya pañcamyām sitāyām guruvāsare/
vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite śāke kṛteyam vivṛtir mayā//

Here VT says that "the weekday does not come out correctly if we take either the Śālivāhana Śaka or the Vikrama Śaka. *So the Śaka mentioned by .... Bhattotpala refers only to the Śaka with*

40a. The unreliability of this work will be discussed later.
41. Rai, *JPUHS* I (1932) 73; VT, *JIH* 28 (1950) 103, *JAHRS* 22 (1952-54) 173.

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550 B.C. *as epoch*".[42] This means that if Bhaṭṭotpala's *Śaka* is taken as given in the Śaka of 550 B.C., the weekday agrees; and so the date referred to is 888 years after 550 B.C., *i.e.*, 339 A.D., (but in his 'Andhra Saka' he gives 340 A.D., *cf.* fn. 11 above) and so VM must be earlier still. But we have made the calculations and *find that it is* 339 *A.D. that does not give the agreement;* in that year the *Caitra Pañcamī* falls on Friday, ending at about 35 *nāḍis*. In his *Popular Astronomy*, pp. 136-37, VT has changed the date of Bhaṭṭotpala to 338 A.D., in accordance with his changing the Śaka Epoch to 551 B.C. Strangely enough, here too VT asserts that he finds agreement with the weekday, *viz.* Thursday.[42a] My calculation here gives Sunday, *i.e.* three days off, on this date. On the other hand *there is perfect agreement with Śālivāhana Śaka* 888 (corresponding to 966 A.D.) *if Caitra is in the Pūrṇimānta* reckoning which was prevalent in Bhaṭṭotpala's time.[43]

And there is also positive evidence to show that Bhaṭṭotpala has meant only the *Śālivāhana Śaka*. He has commented on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, who says that it is a representation of the (Ārdharātrika) system of Āryabhaṭa.[44] This means that Brahmagupta is later than Āryabhaṭa (3600 Kali, corresponding to 499 A.D.) and that Bhaṭṭotpala must be later still. It is not possible to drag down, as VT and others do, both Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta together into the earlier centuries, for the following reasons: The date of Āryabhaṭa is definitely 3600 Kali, as already shown. Brahmagupta gives 587 *Śakakāla* as the epoch of his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (I.3). Brahmagupta elsewhere states that 3179 *is to be added to the Śaka year* to get the corresponding Kali year (*Cf. Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, I.26). Āmarāja commenting on the above verse of *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (I.3) gives the Kali year corresponding to the epoch of the work (*Śaka* 587) to be

42. *JIH* 28 (1950) 109.

42a. It is an obvious fact that for a particular *Tithi* in a particular month the weekday cannot be the same in two consecutive years.

43. In certain editions of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* we find instead of the *śloka* quoted above, another saying that he finished the commentary on a Thursday in *Śaka* 888 on *Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Dvitīyā*. This too gives agreement with the weekday only if 888 is in *Śālivāhana Śaka*. If in the *Śaka* starting from 551 or 550 B.C. alleged, there is disagreement.

44. See *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, I.1.

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3766 by adding 3179 to 587; and also calculates and verifies the *Kṣepas* and the weekday of the epoch taking the Kali year 3766, which is A.D. 665,[45] which therefore must be the time of Brahmagupta. Further Brahmagupta is linked to Bhāskara II (who VT at least admits wrote his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* in 1150 A.D.) by an observed *Ayanāṁśa* of about 11°. He also says that in Brahmagupta's time the *Ayanāṁśa* was so little that it was "unobservable even to that expert astronomer".[46] So Brahmagupta cannot be dragged too far away from Bhāskara, and this condition will be fulfilled only if his epoch is in the *Śālivāhana Śaka*. And so his commentator, Utpala's date, *Śaka* 888, has also to be in the *Śālivāhana Śaka*.

Prof. Rai advances another argument,[47] which is his own and not given by anybody else. It is this: *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, VIII.20-21, gives a rule from which, by using the *Śaka* year, the corresponding *Jovian* year in the 60 year cycle *Prabhava* etc., can be got. He works it out for 1932 using the *Śaka* starting from 550 B.C., and gets 52 years gone in the *Prabhava* series. Using the years gone in the *Śālivāhana Śaka* of 78 A.D., he gets the 18th year in the series, *viz.* Tāraṇa. He finds this Tāraṇa given in North Indian Almanacs. But he says this proves nothing beyond showing that the North Indian almanac-makers have adopted the *Śālivāhana Śaka* for this rule. But the point at issue is which is the correct *Śaka* to take. This can be found by working out the year from the *Kali* years gone till 1932, and seeing which of the two (52 or 18) it agrees with. Prof. Rai works out the Jovian years gone from the beginning of *Kali*, using the elements of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*,[48] and dividing the result by 60 gets the remainder 52. Lo! this is the same as the remainder got by using the *Śaka* of 550 B.C. So, that is the *Śaka* intended by VM in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, he says. The argument seems to be perfect.

45. So VT's statement in his *Popular Astronomy*, p. 137, that only 36 A.D. which date he gives for Brahmagupta, would agree with the weekday and not any other date, is wrong.

46. *Cf.* his *Vāsanā-Bhāṣya* on his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, under Golādhyāya, Golabandhādhikāra, 17-19.

47. *JPUHS* I (1932) 123-24.

48. The *Sūrya Siddhānta*, which Prof. Rai uses, wants actually the years from 'Creation' (*i.e.* a point 17,064,000 years from the beginning of the *Kalpa*) to be used for this. But as a whole number of 60 year cycles have gone at the beginning of Kali, no harm will ensue if the *Kali* year is used as he does.

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But this is the fallacy in it: If the Jovian year is to be worked out *a priori* using the *Kali* years gone, the years should be counted *from Vijaya and not from Prabhava.* This condition is specified in the very *Sūrya Siddhānta* whose elements Prof. Rai uses for computation and this has been missed by him.[49] Now counting 52 from Vijaya, we get only the 18th year of the *Prabhava* series, viz. *Tāraṇa,* and this agrees with *Śaka* of 78 A.D. and not the Śaka of 550 B.C. Thus Prof. Rai's argument fails. If anything, it is only a proof for taking VM's *Śakakāla* to be the *Śālivāhana Śaka,* and discarding the *Śaka* of 550 B.C.

Prof. Rai seeks further support to his theory by stating (*ib.,* p. 71) that, "Albiruni writing in 1030 A.D. not only talks of Bhaskaracharya, but also mentions his book 'Karana Kutuhala' ", that the date of composition of Karanakutuhala given in the work itself, *viz. Śaka* 1105, if taken in the *Śālivāhana Śaka* would be 1183 A.D., *i.e.* 150 years after Albiruni, which is patently impossible, that "Weber in his Book on Sanskrit Literature (p. 262) notices this anomaly, but is unable to offer any explanation" (Weber, *History of Indian Literature,* English Translation, London, 1914), and that "if we take this Śaka commencing from 550 B.C., the riddle is solved", for this would take Bhāskara to the 6th cent. A.D., long prior to Albiruni.

The answer to Prof. Rai is given by Bhāskara himself who indicates that he uses only the *Śālivāhana Śaka* for he says that 3179 is to be added to the *Śaka* year to get the *Kali* years gone (*Cf. Siddh. Śiromaṇi,* Gaṇita, Madhyama, Kālamāna, 28). Moreover Albiruni's words in the context do not warrant the name Bhāskara at all, nor does he mention anywhere a work *Karaṇa-'Kutūhala'* (the work named being a *Karaṇa-'Sāra'*). It has also to be added that *Prof. Rai is not speaking the facts* when he says that Weber "is unable to offer any explanation". As a matter of fact, in contradiction to what Prof. Rai says, Weber offers on the very page that Rai refers to (page 262) several explanations: Weber says that "we have scarcely any alternative save to separate Albiruni's *'Bashkar'* son of *'Mahdeb',* and the author of *'Karaṇa-sāra'* from the *Bhāskara,* son of *Mahādeva,* and author of *Karaṇa-*

49. Cf. *Dvādaśaghnā guror yātā bhaganā vartamānakaiḥ |*
rāśibhiḥ sahitāḥ, śuddhāḥ ṣaṣṭyā syur "Vijayādayaḥ" || 1.55 ||

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kutūhala". (Note that none of the three names, neither that of the author, nor of his father, which is really *Maheśvara* and which Weber himself draws attention to in a footnote, nor of the work, tallies). Weber again suggests that his translation of the Arabic words of Albiruni might be wrong, for "Albiruni usually represents the Indian *bh* by *b-h*, and for the most part faithfully preserves the length of the vowels, neither of these is here done in the case of *Bashkar*, where, moreover, the *s* is changed into *sh*", and adds in a footnote that in the passage under discussion "there lurks *not a Bhāskara at all*, but perhaps a Pushkara".[50] Even if the passage refers to a Bhāskara, Weber suggests that "we may have to think of that elder Bhāskara, 'who was at the head of the commentators of Āryabhaṭa, and is repeatedly cited by Pṛthūdakasvāmin, who was himself anterior to the author of the *Śiromaṇi*". It is in the face of these facts that Prof. Rai coolly asserts that Weber "is unable to offer any explanation"!

We may add here that the epoch of *Karaṇasāra*, which is mistaken for *Karaṇakutūhala*, is given by Albiruni as *Śaka* 821 (A.D. 899) (*Alberuni's India*, Sachau, I.392), and obviously Prof. Rai's Bhāskara of the 6th cent. cannot write a work 300 years later! So Prof. Rai's argument only goes against his own theory.

Thus nothing can shake the evidence showing that the *Śaka* mentioned by VM is the *Śālivāhana Śaka* and that the date *Śaka* 427 given by him in his *PS* is 505 A.D. Incidentally it has also been shown that the *Śaka* era used by Brahmagupta, Bhaṭṭotpala and Bhāskara II is the *Śālivāhana Śaka* of 78 A.D.

We propose to show in a subsequent article the untenability of certain other claims of these scholars referred to in the Introduction and that everywhere when the word *Śaka* occurs as the *name* of an era, it is only the *Śālivāhana Śaka* that is meant, and therefore or otherwise there is no case for postulating a Cyrus or Andhra Era of 550 B.C.

50. Weber's doubts about the translation of the Arabic passage are only too well-founded, for we find Sachau translating the passage as: "Further there is an astronomical handbook....by *Vitteśvara* the son of *Bhadatta* (? *Mihdatta*) of the city of *Nāgarapura*, called *Karaṇasāra*", cf. *Alberuni's India*, E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, vol. I, p. 156.

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Aditya and Vikramaditya

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D.LITT.,
Professor of Archaeology, University of Madras

The kingdom of the Western Cālukyas of Vātāpi was at the height of its power and glory under Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642). Even Harṣavardhana of Kanyākubja who had subjugated practically the whole of North India to deserve the title of *Uttarāpatheśvara* had to suffer defeat at his hands. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who visited the Cālukya kingdom and its capital during the reign of this monarch has recorded the prosperous conditions that prevailed in it.

But the reign of this great king ended in a terrible disaster. Narasimhavarman I otherwise known Māmalla, the Pallava king of Kāñcīpuram invaded the Cālukya territory, defeated in battle Pulakeśin II and captured his kingdom. Even the capital city of Vātāpi was occupied by the Pallavas as may be seen from an inscription in beautiful Pallava-Grantha characters found at the place.[1]

This event seems to have taken place in *circa* A.D. 642.[2] It also appears that the Cālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas for some time thereafter till the Cālukya power was restored by Vikramāditya I, a son of Pulakeśin II.

Vikramāditya counts the commencement of his reign from Ś 577 equivalent to A.D. 655, as is evident from the Gadval Plates[3] dated in the twentieth year of his reign corresponding to

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XI, Bombay -Karnatak, No. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 1.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, p. 101. The actual date has been calculated as Tuesday, 25th April 674 A.D. The Sāvnūr Plates issued on the same day, full-moon *tithi* in the month of Vaiśākha in the twentieth regnal year from the same camp at Uragapura in the *Colika* viṣaya, gives the corresponding Śaka year as 597, (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20), where it is

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Śaka 596. This inscription and his Sāvnūr Plates[4] dated in the same year, the undated Haiderabad Plates[5] as also the spurious Kurta koṭi Plates[6] mention that he defeated the three successive Pallava kings, Narasimhavarman I, Mahēndravarman II and Paramēśvaravarman I. The last named king Paramēśvaravarman I was the Pallava adversary of Vikramāditya I in his southern expedition in the course of which he was encamped at Māgapura in the Cōḷa country in A.D. 674. It will be seen therefrom that he had to fight hard with the Pallavas over a fairly long period.

He was not the eldest son of Pulakeśin II. He had at least two brothers Candrāditya and Raṇarāghavarman elder to him. This becomes clear from the Nerūr and Kochre Plates of Vijayamahādevī, his queen. Both of them relate to the time after the restoration of Cālukya rule by Vikramāditya I. The Nerūr grant[7] registers the gift of some land to a Brāhmaṇa by Vijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, the *priyamahiṣī* of Candrāditya. In the genealogical portion, after Pulakeśin II, his dear son (*priyatanayaḥ*) Vikramāditya is introduced and referred to in connection with his re-establishment of Cālukya rule. Then his elder brother *Śrī Candrāditya-Pṛthivī-Vallabha-Mahārājā* is mentioned, as also his queen who made the grant in her own regnal year (*sva-rājya varṣe*). The other, the Kochre grant,[8] which follows closely the Nerūr grant in other respects, registers a land gift made by her to a Brāhmaṇa on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha in her region. The year or the other astronomical details with which the corresponding date in the Christian era can be calculated are not given. In this inscription Candrā-

taken as the 'current' one while the year quoted in the Gadval Plates is taken as the 'expired' one. But it is to be noted that both these documents were written by the same person. The Talamāñci Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98, 102) dated in Vikramāditya's sixth regnal year, however quoting the corresponding Śaka year registers a gift of land made at the time of a solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The date has been calculated to be 13th of July A.D. 660.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20.
5. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 219 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

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ditya is given to title *Pṛthivīvallabha Mahārājādhirājā*, while his queen is called Śrī Vijaya Mahādevī.

The Honnūr Plates of the sixteenth year of Vikramāditya[9] mention another elder brother of his, by name Raṇarāghavarman, whose daughter dear to him as life (*prāṇa samadūlitā*) was the wife of the Ganga Prince Mādhava who was the *Vigñāpti* for the grant recorded in the Plates.

Vikramāditya had also a brother called Jayasimha, younger to him. This is clear from the Navsari Copper Plate grant of Jayasimha[10] dated in the (Kalacuri) year 421 corresponding to A.D. 671. It registers the grant of a village to some Brāhmaṇas by his son Yuvarāja Śilāditya. The genealogical portion of the grant begins with Pulakeśin II of the Cālukya family, mentions another son of Pulakeśin, named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman "whose (dignity or) prosperity was augmented (or brought about) by his elder brother Vikramāditya (*Jyāyasā bhrātrā samabhi varddhita vibhūtih*). In the reign of this Jayasimha his son Srayāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja made the grant.

We thus come to know of four sons of Pulakeśin II, Candrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha in the order of their birth. A copper plate grant[11] obtained in the Kurnool District mentions an Ādityavarman as a son of Pulakeśin II. It records a gift of land made to a Brāhmaṇa in the first year of his reign on the full moonday in the month of Kārttika at the great festival of *Paitāmahi* and *Hiraṇyagarbha*. The Śaka year is not given in the inscription; nor does it contain other astronomical details with the help of which the equavalent date in Christian era could be determined. The inscription does not mention Vikramāditya. And there is no information in it to show his order of birth among the sons of Pulakeśin.

This Ādityavarman is not mentioned in the other records. But he is described in this inscription as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth which had been overcome by the strength of his arm and prowess" (*sva bhujabala-parākkram-ākkrānta sakala-matīmaṇḍal=ādhirājyaḥ*) and also having

9. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1939, No. 30.
10. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 1.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 233. Also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 66.

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the title *pṛthivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ*. So he has to be assigned to the period after the restoration of sovereignty by the Cālukyas. But there is no indication whether the recovery of the Cālukyas under Ādityavarman took place before or after its restoration by Vikramāditya.

Dr. Fleet[12] was inclined to think that "Ādityavarman was the eldest son of Pulakeśin II" and that he endeavoured to wrest succession from his younger brother "after the Cālukya restoration by Vikramāditya". The omission of the name of Ādityavarman in all the subsequent records of the family was the main reason which led him to that conclusion. The wording in the grant of Ādityavarman would show, according to Dr. Fleet, either that he made the first attempt to restore 'the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after restoration by Vikramāditya I, he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother'. He however felt that the former supposition was less probable than the latter one.

The Kanthēru grant of A.D. 1009[13] issued more than three and a half centuries later after the restoration by Tailapa II of the later Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī as also a few other records that follow the same draft introduces two generations in the genealogy between Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, thus making the latter the great-grandson of the former instead of his son. It mentions one Nedamari as the son of Pulakeśin, and an Ādityavarman as Nedamari's son. Vikramāditya has been made the son of Ādityavarman. Fleet thinks that the name of Ādityavarman as the supposed father of Vikramāditya I very possibly owed its existence to his really having had a brother of that name.[14] But it should be noted that this late record contains also some misstatements based on imperfect tradition, and as such too much reliance cannot be placed on such late records.

A comparison of the record of Ādityavarman with those of Vikramāditya would show that there are some common features in the contents and phraseology among them.

The grant of Ādityavarman describes the royal donor and records the issue of his order in the following words: *sva-bhuja-*

12. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 367.
13. *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 17.
14. *Bombay Gazeteer*, Vol. I. pt. ii, p. 361, n. 3.

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bala-parākramā-krānta-sakala mahīmaṇḍalādhirājyaḥ Śrimad-Ādityavarma-pṛthivī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ kriśali sarvvān-ājñāpayati (11. 12-14). The Gadval Plates after narrating the victories of Vikramāditya mention the issue of the order by him in the following words: *sa parākram ākkranta sakala mahīmaṇḍala-adhirājyo Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthivī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvaro-sarvvān-evam ajñapayati* (11.22-23).

Ādityavarman is said to have made the grant for the merit of his mother and father and also of himself: *māṭāpitrōr-ātmanaś-chapuṇya āvāptaye udakapūrvvam dattam* (1.18). The specific mention in the grant of the mother and father as the persons for whose merit also the gift was made is rather exceptional and not usually found in the inscriptions of this dynasty. But this is found in many of the copper plates of Vikramāditya *e.g.,* his Kurnool Plates of the third year[15] as also the undated Kurnool Plates of his.[16] In the Navsāri plates of the Gujarat Cālukya Jayasimha referred to earlier Vikramāditya is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father and another Nāgavardhana. (*mātā pitṛ Śri Nāgavardhana pādamudhyāta*).[17] Similar expressions are not found elsewhere.

While editing the "Five copper-plate grants of the Western Cālukya dynasty from the Kurnūl District" Fleet opines that the Kurnūl grants of Vikramāditya I (Nos. II and III) and the Nerūr and Kochre grants of Candrāditya's wife give some indication of being amplified in their concluding portions from the version of the Kurnūl grant of Ādityavarman (No. I) which he considers as the standard draft.[18]

All the grants of Vikramāditya as also those of others like Candrāditya of the family issued after the restoration of the Cālukya sovereignty by him contain a verse describing how he obtained the paramount power.

raṇa-śirasi ripu narendrān-diśi diśi
jitvā sva-vamśajām Lakṣmīm
prāpyaca Paramēśvaratam-Anīvārita Vikramādityaḥ.

15. *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 237 (No. II), line 21.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 239 (No. III), line 19.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2, line 7.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 181-82, fn.

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"Anīvārita Vikramāditya, who, having recovered at the head of battle the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (*Paramēśvaraḥ*).[19]

The title *Paramēśvara* which Vikramāditya is said to have acquired in this manner is found applied to Ādityavarman in his grant.

The expression *Anivārita-Vikramādityaḥ* occurring in this verse is generally taken as the name of the ruler. It is true *anivārita* was borne as a title by Vikramāditya II,[20] as will be evident from the names of some of his officers, eg. *Anivāritacāri*[21] *Anivārita-puṇyavallabha*[22] etc. It is likely that it was also a title of Vikramāditya I. But it is also to be taken in the literal or true sense of the word as will be evident from the expression *sarvā-nivārit-ājña*, "whose orders as unopposed by all men", occurring in verse 10 of the Gadval Plates. Thus the expression *Anivārita-vikramāditya* is better translated as "Āditya of unopposed (or unrepulsed) valour (or prowess)."

This would make Āditya as the original name and Vikramāditya or Āditya of (unequal) valour as the title, thus making it possible that Ādityavarman was the same as Vikramāditya. It is not therefore necessary to take Ādityavarman as another son of Pulakeśin II different from Vikramāditya. They may be taken as the names of one and the same person. Ādityavarman was perhaps the original name and when he became renowned on account of his victories, by gaining for himself the estate of his father which had been hidden (or obstructed) by three kings (who were probably Candrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman and Narasimhavarman Pallava) he assumed the title of Vikramāditya. The analogy of Kulottunga I the Coḷa Emperor of a later period may be cited as an example. In the early years of his reign he was known only as Rājēndra, but only later as Kulōttunga, which name he is known to have assumed in his fourth regnal year.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 103, verse 2.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 15, p. 101, fn. 4.
21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.
22. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

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A Unique Martanda Bairava Relief from Rajasthan

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,

Superintendent, Archaeology & Museums, Udaipur (Rajasthan)

Icons combining in them the features of Sūrya and Śiva are very few in number and one such interesting composite image is now preserved in the V. R. S. Museum at Rajshahi. K. C. Sircar (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, VI, 1930, pp. 465-70) identified the three-faced and ten armed deity therein as "*Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*".[1] Another interesting mediaeval sculpture of four-armed and one-faced *Vivasvān* hails from Konārk as described and illustrated by T. N. Ramchandran in *Sarūpa Bhāratī, Lakhshamaṇa Swarūpa Commemoration Volume*, Hoshiarpur, 1954, pp. 280ff., and plate. The Konārk relief appears to bear some resemblance with an unpublished early-mediaeval statue (No. 90; 36×21 inches) of the Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār (Rajasthan). The latter present the 6 armed divinity in the standing pose and holding the weapons of Sūrya and Śiva in the respective hands. A statue of three-faced, *sthānaka* and multi-armed *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* from the Sun Temple at Konārk has also been published by C. Śivarāmamūrtī in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters), Calcutta, XXI(2), 1955, pl. IX, p. 83. All the three heads therein bear *jaṭā-jūṭa* on the top whereas the one illustrated by Ramchandran (*op. cit.*) presents a typical conical crown on the head of one-faced and six-armed deity. Still more interesting is the discovery of several sculptures of "*four-armed and one-faced Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava in different parts of Rajasthan*". They are of sufficient iconographic interest and may be described in brief as below:—

1. A small niche (17 × 10 inches) in the exterior of the famous Sun Temple[2] at Rānpur (Rāṇakpur, near Sādaḍī, Marwar)

1. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 549-50 and *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XVI, 1948, pp. 86 ff. Dr. Banerjea has identified the sculptures previously noticed by Hira Lal in *Ind. Antiquary*, xlvii, 1918, pp. 136 ff.

2. For details about this Sun Temple, consult by paper in *Śodhapatrikā*, Udaipur, Hindi, VI (2-3), pp. 1-20.

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depicts the four-armed deity as holding two lotuses in the front hands and a trident (*triśūla*) in the left hand.

2. I also discovered an interesting image (24 × 14 inches) lying outside the Gaḍiyā Temple situated in the village of Aṭru, distant about 64 miles from Kotah. The lower two hands of the standing deity are completely mutilated in this relief and so also the weapons held therein. The left and right back hands of course hold the *āyudhas* of Śiva i.e. a serpent and a trident respectively. Besides this, a coat of mail (*kavaca*) covers the chest of the main figure and there appears Piṅgala, holding the pen and an inkpot, near the right leg of the standing (*sthānaka*) deity. This interesting depiction of the combined form of Śiva and Sūrya (*Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*) in the art of the 9th century A.D. has also remained unnoticed as yet.

3. *A Unique Image from Nāgadā*:—The principal back niche of a subsidiary shrine, in the courtyard of the Sāsa-Bahu Temples at Nāgadā (ancient Nāgahrada),[3] preserves a unique image of this variety. It measures about 24 inches in height and 16 inches in width. The *caturbhuja* deity, therein, takes his seat on an inverted-lotus throne in the *padmāsana* pose in an elegant manner as can be seen in the contemporary image of eight-armed deity from Khajuraho and illustrated by Stella Kramrisch in *Hindu Temple*, II, Calcutta, 1946, pl. VI, p. 373. The meditating pose, two lotus-stalks in the front hands, a trident (*triśūla*) and a skull-crowned mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) in the right and left back hands respectively, a crown (*mukuṭa*) on the head, *kavaca* (coat of mail) on the chest and other ornaments of the *devatā* in the Nāgdā relief have been executed quite vividly. Infact such a lovely representation of four-armed Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava in the art of Rajasthan and that too in the seated pose is extremely rare. The existing syncretistic relief from Rajasthan is decidedly of immense iconographic[4] interest. The Konārk reliefs of seated and standing four-armed variety of Sun images no doubt depict two lotuses and a trident in the hands of the deity [Banerjea, *JISOA*, Calcutta, XVI, pp. 83-4; Ramchandran, *op. cit.*] but the utter

3. Distant about 14 miles from Udaipur City.
4. Cf. my paper in *Śodhapatrikā*, *op. cit.*, VIII(4), June 1957, pp. 1-4 and plate for some composite-icons from Rajasthan.

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absence of the *khaṭvāṅga* as one of the *āyudhas* therein is to be noted with great interest. It is not possible to regard the Nāgdā (Rajasthan) image as a representation of the *Vivasvat* variety of the *Dvādaśāditya* group. The combination of the Śaiva weapons (i.e. trident and skull-crowned mace) in the back hands therein does not correspond fully with the literary texts on *Visvasvat* icons as recorded by T. G. Rao in *Elements of Hindu Iconograph*, Madras, I (2), Appendix C, p. 86. At the same time, the existing image from Nāgdā presents a happy blending of the solar and Śaiva trends in the art of the tenth century A.D.

A passing reference may also be made to a unique image of *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*, now preserved as exhibit No. 6 in the Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār. The same has already been illustrated by me in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay, XI, 1955, p. 21, pl. VII, fig. 2. It measures 42 inches in height and 33 inches in width and was transferred from Bedalā (tahsil Gangadhāra, Distt. Jhalawar). Infact such a lovely and early-mediaeval statue of this variety from Rajasthan has not been published as yet. The depiction of six arms holding two weapons (i.e, lotuses) of Sūrya and the remaining ones of Viṣṇu, typical crown on the head of the deity and a canopy of serpent-hoods still above, horse-faced *Aśvinī-kumāras*[5] in seated pose carved on both the sides on the top of the relief, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala appearing below (each in the company of a female attendant).... etc., have been vividly executed. Long boots and the coat of mail on the chest of the standing deity enhance the elegance of the statue still further. A contemporary (8-9th century) icon of this variety but presenting the god as four-armed in an identical pose was noticed by me on the exterior of an early-mediaeval temple at Aṭru (near Kotah). Here too the crown of the main figure is overshadowed by a canopy of serpent-hoods as noticed above. Two lotuses in the back right hands, wheel and the mace in the front left and right hands respectively, *kavaca* on the chest....etc., present a picturesque study of the unified form of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, and that too endowed with four hands.

5. Also depicted as seated near the feet in the *Trimūrti* reliefe from Bangaon as illustrated by Hiralal in *Indian Ant.*, xlvii, 1918, pl. II, facing p. 136. Here the deity bears 6 hands which are completely mutilated and so also the *āyudhas* held therein.

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During my exploratory tour at Baḍodā (31 miles from Dūṅgarpur and ancient *Vaṭapadraka*), I discovered an interesting statue of white stone and depicting the composite aspect of Viṣṇu and *Sūrya* in the art of the 11-12th century A.D. It measures about 54 inches in height and 24 inches in width. Six letters in the *kuṭila* script of the 11-12th century have been engraved on the pedastal of the relief. The four-armed deity appears in the standing pose and holds two lotus-flowers in the front right hands, the wheel in the left back and the mace in the right upper one. A conical *mukuṭa* on the head, *kavaca* on the chest and long boots covering the feet have been well preserved in the image. The figure of one horse only and that too near the left leg of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa refers to Sūrya aspect of the figure and enhances the grace of the relief to a great extent. This particular feature is conspicuous by its absence in the sculptures of this group from Jhālāwār and Aṭru as described above. On the other hand, we find the depiction of 7 horses and Aruṇa on the pedestal of a Sūya-Nārāyaṇa relief from South India and illustrated by T. G. Rao in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, I(2), p. 317, pl. xciv. An interesting image, carved on the pillar of the Someśvara temple at Kirāḍu (Mārwār) presents the four-armed deity in the *padmāsana* pose. The back hands hold the lotus flowers whereas the lower two have been kept in the *vaddhāñjali* pose suggesting thereby the composite aspect of Sūrya and Yoga-Nārāyaṇa. This is really very important in the mediaeval iconography of Rajasthan. The existing sculptures of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa[6] from Rajasthan are very important for the study of the Brahmanic Iconography of the country. It is earnestly hoped that the aforesaid *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* and *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa* icons from Rajasthan will now be duly appreciated by art critics and scholars in their respective works on ancient Indian art and sculpture. It will not be possible to ignore these sublime products of Indian artistic genius when they have come out of age-long oblivion and that too in a published form.

6. In verse 33 of a 12th century inscription of Ajmer Museum, Sūrya has been addressed as the right eye of Viṣṇu:—*Dakṣiṇamīksaṇam Murari-pordevo Raviḥ pātu vaḥ* (*Ep. Indica*, XXIX, p. 182). This is an important epigraphic reference to close affinity between these prominent divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

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The Rāichūr Doāb in Deccan History—Re-interpretation of a Struggle

BY

P. M. Joshi

Importance of the Rāichūr Doāb:—The Rāichūr Doāb can be said to comprise the area between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā from the fort of Mudgal in the east to the junction of the two rivers in the west. Ever since the foundation of the Bahmanī Empire in the Deccan in 1347 and the establishment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar about the same time, the Rāichūr Doāb was a bone of contention between these two powerful kingdoms. The break-up of the Bahmanī Empire gave a new orientation to the relations between Vijayanagar and its Muslim neighbours. The sultanates of the Deccan did not pursue a united policy towards the Hindu kingdom till they found that their very existence depended on adopting it. Blinded by mutual jealousy, they sought the help of Vijayanagar to gain their selfish ends. Qāsim Barīd of Bīdar was the first to incite the Hindus to make war on Bījāpur which, as the neighbour of Vijayanagar, was the sultanate most immediately affected by its strong power. The struggle between Bījāpur and Vijayanagar which started in the reign of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh ended only with the overthrow of the Hindu power at the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi.

The causes of the recurring hostilities between Vijayanagar and its Muslim neighbours, first the Bahmanī Empire and then the 'Ādilshāhī Kingdom of Bījāpur, were economic, geographical and religious. The Rāichūr Doāb round which hostilities centred was not only a fertile tract, but was also rich in mineral resources. There were iron deposits in the Doāb which show evidence of having been worked by Vijayanagar kings.[1] Iron being the most important commodity in the manufacture of arms, both Vijayanagar and Bījapur coveted to possess these deposits and laid claim to the ownership of the Doāb.

1. Major Munn, Director of the Geological Survey of the State of Hyderabad: Manchester Memoirs LXIV., No. 5; Cf. *MGSI*, VIII, 265; Gribble I., 27.

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Even more important than the iron deposits was the presence of diamonds in this tract. More than one contemporary account asserts independently that there were diamond mines in the vicinity of Rāichūr. In 1470 Nicolo Conti found that diamonds were produced at Rāichūr.[2] Both Varthema and Barbosa noted that there were diamond mines in the kingdom of Bījāpur,[3] though they failed to specify their exact location. It is significant that at the time when these writers made their observations, the Rāichūr Doāb was in the possession of Bījāpur. The 'Ādilshāhī boundary extended beyond the Tungabhadrā only after the battle Rakshas-Tagdi in 1565. So that the diamond deposits that were mentioned as belonging to Bījāpur before that date, must have been north of the river evidently in the Rāichur Doab. Linschoten further supports these accounts.[4] Most vital evidence on this point is furnished by the Bījāpur historian, Rafī-ud-dīn Shīrāzī, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*, who was in royal service Bījāpur from 1560 till the early years of the seventeenth century. He says that there was a diamond mine near Rāichūr which was in the possession of Bījāpur in 1606.[5] This is further corroborated by an English diamond merchant who visited the Bījāpur and Golcondā diamond mines about 1675 and presented his observations in a paper submitted to the Royal Society in 1677.[6] He mentions at least two diamond mines in the Doāb near the junction of the rivers Tungabhadrā and Krishnā.[7] All this evidence leaves no doubt at all that the struggle for the possession of the Rāichūr Doāb was dictated, among other factors, by the diamond deposits that were scattered in the vicinity of Rāichūr.

Beyond the Doāb near Adonī and Karnūl was the diamond mine of Rāmallkotā, the most important in the Bījāpur group of mines.[8]

2. India in the Fifteenth Century, Conti, 21.
3. Varthema, 118; Barbosa I, 202, II, 221.
4. Linschoten II, 137.
5. *TM*, 321a.
6. This paper is published in The Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XII (1677).
7. *Ibid.* 913. MGSI, VII., 106. Also V. Ball: The Diamonds, Coal and Gold of India, 16.
8. Cf. Tavernier II, (Second ed., *OUP* 1925) 41-43; Philosophical Transactions i.c. 913. Tavernier says that this mine was discovered about 200 years before he visited it.

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This mine of course did not come into the possession of Bījāpur till after 1565. But it is interesting to note in this connection the attempt made by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I to capture the stronghold of Adonī in 1537. The conquest of this place would have given him the possession of the diamond mines near Karnūl. But it was strenuously defended by Rāma Rāya who sent almost all his army to drive the Muhammadans back into the Doāb.[9]

Further, the Rāichūr Doāb was a fertile tract of land, situated as it was between the two rivers Krishnā and Tungabhadrā. Its soil was and is of the black cotton variety most suitable for rich crops like cotton and wheat. The Doāb, therefore, was a great source of revenue[10] to whoever possessed it.

It had also a strategic importance, especially for Vijayanagar. The capital of the Hindu Empire was situated just beyond the Tungabhadrā due south of Mudgal, one of the strongholds which, along with Rāichūr controlled the Doāb. Lying between two rivers, it could serve admirably as buffer territory between the Hindu capital and Bījāpur, and its possession would safeguard the diamond mines to its south near Karnūl. With Rāichūr and Mudgal garrisoned by Hindu troops, the Muhammadans would have triple difficulty in attacking Karnūl or Vijayanagar, they would have to cross two rivers and fight their day past Rāichūr or Mudgal. Thus Vijayanagar's anxiety to retain the Doāb in its possession was dictated by a desire to protect itself effectively from its Muslim neighbours. Once the fords of the rivers were guarded it was easy to prevent the Muslims from crossing the Doāb and approaching Vijayanagar. The importance of this fact became evident in 1565 when the Muslim armies decided to march into the Hindu kingdom. The Doāb was at that time in the possession of the Hindus and the point where the Krishnā river could be forded near the memorable battlefield of Rakshas Tagdi was carefully guarded by an advance contingent of the Hindu army. By clever manoeuvring the Muslims lured the Hindus away from the ford, doubled back and crossed the ford before the Hindus could retake their position. This proved that the Hindus were bad tacticians. With a vigilant defence of the fords of the Krishnā they could have prevented

9. Ferishta II, 51; *BS*, 53; *FA*, 64a.
10. Cf. Nuniz, Sewell, 368.

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the Muslims from crossing the river. But though they understood the strategic importance of the Doāb their carelessness lost them its advantage.

These disputes which arose out of economic, political and geographical considerations were made more acute by the fundamental religious difference between the rulers of Bījāpur and the rulers of Vijayanagar. Though the idea of a *jehad* against the Hindus never predominated in the mind of any of the 'Ādilshāhī sultans, the attitude of the Hindu regent Rāma Rāya towards Islam embittered 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh and the other Deccan sultans against Vijayanagar. At first Rāma Rāya helped Ahmadnagar against Bījāpur. Then he suddenly changed his policy and allied with Bījapur against Ahmadnagar. Behind this apparent inconsistency was the desire to destroy the power of the Sultanates of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya would almost have succeeded in his ambitious design but for his insulting and arrogant attitude towards Islam. It was his threat to the very existence of Islam in the Deccan that brought the sultanates together to crush him. He was no longer the enemy of an individual Muslim state but of all of them. The struggle was no longer a political srtuggle, it was religious. It was this factor that was responsible for the Muslim confederacy.

Early history of the Doāb : Both Bījāpur and Vijayanagar set high value on the Doāb for its economic resources and strategic position. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at that this important tract was constantly changing hands. In the year 1443 it was a Muslim possession and was invaded by Devarāya of Vijayanagar who was ultimately defeated and driven back by the Bahmanī forces, and the Doab continued to remain as a part of the Bahmanī Empire.[11] At the time when Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh declared his independence it formed a part of his kingdom. The Hindus would have been too willing to recover it, had it not been for fear of Muslim reprisals. Qāsim Barīd's attitude dispelled this fear. At his invitation they crossed the Tungabhadrā and occupied the Doāb.[12] But not for long. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh took the first opportunity to recover this loss. While he was engaged against Qāsim Barid, a revolution was taking place in the Hindu capital. After defeating Barīd

11. Sewell, 76-77.
12. Ferishta II., 6; Sewell, 113.

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at Naldurg, he at once made for the Doāb. The Hindus raised a defence, but it was unequal to the 'Ādilshāhī attack and the Doāb passed into the hands of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh[13] (April, 1493).

The Hindus lost the Doāb no doubt, but they also learnt that the newly evolved sultanates were no longer united against their traditional foe. Once they perceived this advantage, they were ever ready to make use of it, so that while Bījāpur was disturbed by civil war, during the minority of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's successor, Ismāīl, they were once again encouraged to attack the Rāichūr Doāb. Further, following the policy of Qāsim Barīd, his son Amīr also instigated them in their adventure. Sometime in 1512 the Hindus surprised Rāichūr and occupied it. The garrison could not hold the fort against the Hindu hordes; nor was Isma'il 'Adil Shah in a position to send succour as due to the treachery of his regent and a palace revolution in Bijapur his very throne seemed, for a time, in danger.[14] When the civil war in Bijapur was over, Ismail decided to punish Amir Barid who was responsible for much of the trouble that had befallen Bijapur during Kamal Khan's regency. Any plan for the recovery of the Doab, therefore, had to be postponed.

Isma'il 'Adil Shah was determined to recover the Doab. But he was unable to do so during the life-time of the great Krishnadevaraya under whom Vijayanagar attained to great strength and and eminence. The expedition that Isma'il led in May 1520 for the reoccupation of the Doab very nearly cost him his life and brought on him a disastrous defeat.[16] The Hindus had, for the time being at least, triumphed over Bījāpur. It was the death of Krishnadevarāya in 1529 and the weakness of his successor Achyuta that gave Ismāīl his opportunity. Bījāpur was at peace with Ahmadnagar and Berar, Amīr Barīd, the mischief-maker, had been subdued, the time was in all respects favourable to Ismā'īl's enterprise. Early in 1530 the 'Ādilshāhī army entered the Doāb; its reduction was not a difficult task and both Rāichūr and Mudgal renewed their allegiance to Bījāpur.[16]

13. Ferishta II., 7-10; *BS*, 17-18; *HIS*, 231; Sewell, 111, 114.
14. Ferishta II, 21, 23, 27-31.
15. Ferishta II., 34-36; *FA*, 48a-b; Sewell, 140-47.
16. Ferishta II, 44; *BS*, 44; *TM*, 35a-b; *FA*, 53b-54a; Sewell, 165, 367-68.

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Rāma Rāya and Burhān: Alliance against Bījāpur: The peace of the Doāb was not disturbed for the next thirteen years. This was because of internal discord in the Hindu capital, where, taking advantage of the weakness of Achyuta, two rival parties were bidding for power. One of these was led by Tirumala, the king's brother-in-law and the other by Rāma Rāya, also a member of the royal family. The policy of Ismā'īl's son and successor, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, towards the Hindus at this juncture only resulted in increased hostility between the neighbours. He interfered in the internal affairs of Vijayanagar by giving military support to Tirumala against his rivals.[17] This step, though it brought immediate material advantage to Ibrāhīm in the shape of cash payments from Tirumala, sowed the seeds of hatred in the mind of Rāma Rāya. Both because of his alliance with Ibrāhīm and because of his treatment of his king, Tirumala became unpopular with the Hindu grandees and lost their support. Rāma Rāya, his astute rival, seized his moment and instigated the nobility to overthrow the regent. In despair Tirumala committed suicide[18] and Rāma Rāya became absolute at Vijayanagar.

Ibrāhīm's attempt to capture Adonī in 1537 proved unsuccessful and only aggravated Rāma Rāya's hatred towards Bījāpur. Being engaged in consolidating his position in Vijayanagar, the Hindu regent did not plan immediate retaliation against Ibrāhīm, but waited for a favourable opportunity. This came in 1543 when Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar appealed to him for help against Bījāpur. Rāma Rāya wanted to recover Doāb and Burhān, Sholāpur. Thus a common grievance and a common object — the recovery of very much disputed and as much coveted territory — brought the two together. Burhān's change to the *Shia* creed and Ibrāhīm's adoption of the *Sunni* doctrine widened the cleavage between them and only urged Burhān to enter into this unnatural alliance with the Hindus. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh of Golcondā willingly joined Burhān against *Sunni* Ibrahīm[19] (1543).

Bījāpur had, at this time, in Asad Khān of Belgaum a devoted minister and an able general. As long as he lived neither Burhān

17. Ferishta II, 50; Nuniz, Sewell, 367-68.
18. Ferishta II., 51; *TM*, 39a-b; *FA*, 63a-64a; Sewell, 169-71.
19. Ferishta II., 227; *TMQS*, 75b. Jamshīd had just then succeeded his father Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh.

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nor Rāma Rāya was able to accomplish their object. Repeated alliances and campaigns against Bījāpur failed to gain for them the possession of Sholāpur and the Rāichūr Doāb.

Burhān's envoy in these negotiations was Shāh Tāhir, a Pardesi. As a brother Pardesi, Asad Khān seems to have prevailed on him to advise Burhān to abandon hostilities. Seeing that his ally showed no desire to declare war on Bījāpur, Rāma Rāya also desisted from an attack on the Doāb. Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh, who had already advanced into Bījāpur territory, was now left alone. Asad Khān marched against him, twice defeated him in the field, pursued him to the gates of Golcondā and returned to Bījāpur in triumph.[20]

Rāma Rāya felt aggrieved at the behaviour of his ally and prevailed on him to begin hostilities against Bījāpur. Burhān marched against Gulbarga, but was defeated by Ibrāhīm and Asad Khān.[21]

It was now Burhan's turn to reconstruct the confederacy, and he called on 'Ālī Barīd to join him. But the latter refused to wage war against a brother *Sunni*. Burhān then invaded the kingdom of Bīdar and occupied the forts of Udgir, Ausā and Kandhār. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh tried to help Barīd but was defeated in three successive encounters.[22]

Burhān's persistent offensive and Ibrahīm's reverses led the latter to suspect the loyalty of his own officers and he attributed his recent defeats to their treachery. The sultan developed a sudden streak of inhuman cruelty and showed an appetite for carnage unparalleled in the history of the 'Ādilshāhī dynasty. The nobility wanted to depose him and place his brother prince 'Abdullāh on the throne. But rumours of the plot reached Ibrāhīm and 'Abdullāh had to fly to Goa to escape the king's wrath. Once again Asad Khān came under suspicion and had to retire to Belgaum. Even though his loyalty was taxed to the utmost, Asad Khān refused to join Burhān Nizām Shāh. But the king's distrust of him broke the great minister's heart and in February 1549 he died,[23] leaving

20. *BS*, 59-60; *FA*, 69a-b; Ferishta II, 55, 332.
21. *BS*, 60-61; Ferishta II, 55.
22. Ferishta II, 56, 228-29; cf. *CHI*, III, 441. 'Amīr succeeded his father 'Alī Barīd in 1542.
23. Ferishta II, 56-57; *BS*, 51-53; *FA*, 71b.

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a reputation and a memory cherished in Belgaum to this day. Asad Khān was not an administrator, but his generalship, his diplomacy and above all his loyalty to the 'Ādilshāhī dynasty, give him a place in Deccan history second only to that of Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous Bahmanī minister.

Shāh Tahīr, the minister of Burhān Nizām Shāh had died a few years earlier. With Asad Khān's death the two forces that worked for moderation in the Deccan passed away. Burhān and Ibrāhīm were left unrestrained to carry on their fratricidal struggle.

In 1549 Burhān Nizām Shāh once again adopted the fatal policy of an alliance with the Hindus. At the end of the rainy season he marched towards Kalyāni. Rāma Rāya moved northwards and, defeating an 'Ādilshāhī detachment sent to bar his progress joined the Ahmadnagar army. The combined forces of Burhān and Rāma Rāya laid siege to the fort of Kalyāni. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh himself arrived to relieve the fort and encamped within sight of the besiegers. Suddenly Burhān and his Hindu allies surprised Ibrāhīm's camp on the early morning of Ramzan 'Id (Wednesday, October 23, 1549). The Bījāpurīs, engaged in celebrating the termination of the fast, were taken completely unawares. The sultan himself was in a warm bath and had scarcely time to put on his clothes before effecting his escape. His troops fled in confusion. The garrison of Kalyāni was disheartened and surrendered to the enemy.[24]

But Kalyāni was not Burhān's objective, he wanted Sholāpur. His Hindu colleague agreed to continue the war only if Burhān helped the Hindus to recover the Rāichūr Doāb. Burhān agreed. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was unable to defend either the Doāb or Sholāpur and both the districts succumbed to the enemy; the Doāb was once again occupied by the Hindus and the Nizāmshāhīs made a triumphal entry into Sholāpur.[25] (1552)

It seemed as if Burhān contemplated the reduction of the 'Ādilshahi kingdom itself. He planned what he considered to be the final campaign against Bījāpur. If it succeeded, he would

24. Ferishta II.
25. Ferishta II.

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triumph over his inveterate enemy Ibrāhīm, would oust him from his throne, drive him away from his kingdom and so victoriously plant the Nizāmshāhī standard on the citadel of Bījāpur.

This was not to be. Indeed it turned out to be the last expedition, but in a manner in which Burhān had never foreseen. He laid siege to Bījāpur; the bewildered Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh fled to the fortress of Panala. Expectantly Burhān waited to pluck the last fruit of his ambition. But his frustration was great indeed, for when the Ādilshāhī capital was within sight of surrender, he was smitten with a fatal illness and was compelled to return to his capital where he died[26] on Saturday, December 30, 1553.

Rāma Rāya and Ibrahīm: Change in policy:—Husain, Burhān's son and successor had Deccani sympathies. The Pardesis in Ahmadnagar, under their leader Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, a Turk, had supported the claims of Husain's step-brother and rival 'Alī. On Husain's accession 'Ain-ul-Mulk fled to Bījāpur. For a time Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh forgot his prejudice against Pardesis and admitted 'Ain-ul-Mulk into his service and at his instance besieged Sholāpur. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was sent to check the advance of Husain on Sholāpur, was defeated. Ibrāhīm's distrust of Pardesis returned and he suspected 'Ain-ul-Mulk of treachery, and his subsequent harsh and uncompromising attitude drove the Pardesi into rebellion. 'Ain-ul-Mulk gained more than one victory over the royal troops and declared for prince 'Abdullāh who was still at Goa. Ibrāhīm was in a sad plight. His strength had been reduced by constant wars and he found himself unable even to quell the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk. In this extremity he appealed to Rāma Rāya, who sent his brother Venkatādri to help him. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was defeated and sought safety in flight.[27]

Rāma Rāya's policy towards the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom had now changed. Hitherto he had made unsuccessful attempts in alliance with Ahmadnagar to destroy the power of Bījāpur. The Hindu henceforward supported Bījāpur in its wars against Ahmadnagar. He believed that Ahmadnagar had become so powerful and Bījāpur so helpless that it might succumb to the stronger power any time. It was no part of his policy to allow Ahmadnagar to

26. Ferishta II, 234; Burhān, 356.
27. Ferishta II, 60-63, 236; *BS*, 55-56; Burhān, 386.

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grow more powerful. The balance seemed too much against Bījāpur. So Rāma Rāya transferred his friendship from Ahmadnagar to Bījāpur. Thus though he shifted his allegiance the principle underlying it was still the same, namely the gradual weakening of the sultanates and finally their destruction. His policy towards the Muslim kingdoms was actuated not by friendship towards any particular state but by self-interest and self-aggrandizement. This is the keynote of the history of the next ten years. As we shall see, the policy did not succeed and ultimately brought ruin to its originator.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh did not live long to see the results of Rāma Rāya's new policy. The strain of the a war-weary life had told heavily on his health which was further undermined by his intemperate and debauched life. As a result he was afflicted with a complication of disorders. The illness inflamed a nature naturally fierce, so that Ibrāhīm became a terror to all about him. Many physicians unable to cure him were ordered to be trodden to death by elephants. This caused an exodus of the medical practitioners from the capital, and on his death-bed the king found himself without medical aid. This accelerated the end. In September 1558 he departed this life and was buried at Gogi near his father and grand-father.[28]

The reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I was the darkest period in Bījāpur's history. His difficulties were of his own making. Suspicious, cruel, fanatic, he had alienated almost all his nobility and tried to the utmost the loyalty even of so faithful a servant as Asad Khān. The fundamental differences that divided Burhān and Ibrāhīm caused continuous friction between the two, Burhān's alliance with the Hindus nearly brought about the annihilation of Bījāpur. It was only the death of Burhān and the change in Rāma Rāya's policy that saved the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Rāma Rāya: Alliance against Ahmadnagar:—'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Husain Nizām Shāh, who now ruled at Bījāpur and Ahmadnagar, were as further apart from each other as their fathers. 'Alī signalised his accession by reverting to

28. Ferishta II, 64; *BS*, 67. Gogi is a village in Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State.

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Shiaism and favouring Pardesis in his service.[29] Husain on his part was opposed to Pardesis who were now in disfavour at Ahmadnagar. And so religious differences and racial preferences gave edge to an enmity which had separated the two kingdoms so long and which had been assiduously but imperceptibly fostered by Rāma Rāya in recent years.

At the very beginning of his reign 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh showed a desire to continue his father's alliance with Vijayanagar. Old grudges against Ahmadnagar had to be paid off, old reverses to be avenged, Kalyāni and Sholāpur to be recaptured. Moreover, Husain Nizām Shāh's attitude was threatening; he had formed an alliance with Golcondā and Berar against Bījāpur.[30]

Rāma Rāya had already changed his policy towards Bījāpur. He now agreed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh provided he first came to Vijayanagar in person.[31]

This was indeed a hard and humiliating condition and was naturally distasteful to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and independent monarch of equal if not higher status than Rāma Rāya. For the time being he was helpless, an alliance with the Hindus was the only way out of an imminent crisis. But 'Alī never forgot the rancour caused by Rāma Rāya's haughtiness, a rancour which was made more acute by the subsequent behaviour of the Hindu.

Taking advantage of 'Alī's absence at Vijayanagar, Husain, with his ally Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, laid siege to the fortress of Gulbarga in the 'Ādilshāhī dominion. Rāma Rāya instantly carried out his declared intention of helping Bījāpur. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was under obligations to Rāma Rāya, having found refuge in Vijayanagar after his unsuccessful rebellion during the reign of Jamshīd Qutb Shāh.[32] To Ibrāhīm Rāma Rāya sent an admonitory letter, asking him to refrain from hostilities against 'Alī 'Ādil

29. Ferishta II, 66; *BS*, 77; *FA*, 81a.
30. Ferishta II, 67; *BS*, 83-84; *FA*, 81b-82b.
31. *TM*, 43a. This shows that 'Alī's visit to Vijayanagar was not voluntary. This very important fact is not mentioned by Ferishta or the *BS*. Rafī-ul dīn Shīrāzī was a personal servant of 'Alī for many years and enjoyed his confidence. Hence the value of his evidence in the *TM*.
32. *TMQS*, 77a-88b; Ferishta II, 333. Ibrāhīm came to the throne in 1550.

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Shāh who was now a friend of the Hindus. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, afraid of incurring the displeasure of so powerful a neighbour as Rāma Rāya, deserted his ally and returned to Golconda. This made Husain Nizam Shah's position precarious. Not only was his strength weakened by the loss of his ally, but his enemy 'Alī threatened to become more formidable by his alliance with the Hindus. He had no choice but to raise the siege of Gulbarga and retire to Ahmadnagar.[33]

The next three years (1559-1561) witnessed an almost continuous warfare between Bījāpur and Vijayanagar on one side and Ahmadnagar on the other, aided sometimes by Berar, sometimes by Golcondā. This was the most critical period in Husain Nizām Shāh's reign. Rāma Rāya's star was in the ascendant and it was he who was really benefited by the enmity between Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur. He dictated terms not only to the vanquished Husain, but to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, and in the end, to his ally 'Alī Ādil Shāh himself. In a word, during this period, he completely dominated the disturbed political situation in the Deccan. In 1561 Husain was forced to agree to a most humiliating treaty.[34] He sent envoys to Rāma Rāya asking for suspension of hostilities. It is significant that he approached Rāma Rāya and not 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, which shows how completely the Hindu had overshadowed the sultans of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya agreed to conclude peace on the following terms:—

1. Restoration of Kalyāni to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. No mention was made of Sholāpur which apparently remained in Husain's possession. This was purposely done by Rāma Rāya to keep open the quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur.
2. The execution of Jahāngīr Khān, the 'Imādshāhī general who, as an ally of Husain, had been a cause of great concern to the allies.
3. Husain's personal submission before Rāma Rāya.

To all these three conditions Husain agreed. That he consented to put Jahāngīr Khān to death, shows how completely he

33. Burhān, 398-399; *TMQS*, 99a; Ferishta II., 68.
34. Ferishta II, 244; *TM*, 46a,

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had been demoralised by the formidable alliance against him. The submission of Kalyāni resulted in another war and the fulfilment of the third condition merely added to the already bitter feelings of Husain against the Hindus, and paved the way for a union among the sultans in the not too distant future.

Husain's next campaign against Bījāpur was the grossest military folly. His only ally was the unreliable Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. As against this, 'Alī had the support of Vijayanagar. Moreover, Tufal Khān, the regent of Berar, with the shameless murder of Jahāngīr Khān, still fresh in his mind, joined 'Alī and even persuaded 'Alī Barīd to do so. This formidable combination drove Husain to the northern fastnesses of his kingdom. Ahmadnagar at this juncture was very near extinction. But 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had, by this time, learnt the futility and danger of inviting the Hindus to fight against brother Muslims. He even began to doubt whether Rāma Rāya's help was disinterested or whether the Hindu had not ulterior motives of establishing his supremacy by helping the Deccan sultanates to fight one another and weaken themselves. He put forward the approach of the monsoons as an excuse for the suspension of hostilities and the allies returned to their respective dominions.[35] (June 1563).

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh abandoned his advantage because he was both afraid of Rāma Rāya and disgusted at his attitude towards the Muslims in the recent campaigns. During these campaigns against Ahmadnagar, the Hindus had greatly insulted Islam. They had polluted the mosques, had insulted the book, had dishonoured Muslim women. Nor had they shown proper respect towards the person of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh himself. The Muslim envoys had to endure similar humiliation. When they presented themselves before the Hindu, they were treated contemptuously.[36] At first 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had disregarded these petty incidents, but they loomed large against the background of the general attitude of the Hindus towards Islam. 'Alī's cup of bitterness was full. Rāma Rāya's arrogance knew no bounds; but his pride was the prelude to his fall.

35. *TMQS*, 101-b-103a; *TM*, 61a-62b; *FA*, 87a-b; *BS*, 86-88; Ferishta II, 68, 245.

36. Ferishta II, 69; *BS*, 90; *TM*, 46a; Sewell 193-94; *ADV*, 91-92.

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After reaching Vijayanagar, Rāma Rāya claimed from 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh the districts of Itgīr and Bāgalkot as the price of his friendship and from Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, Kovilconda and Pangal. The two sultans were not in a position to refuse this peremptory demand. At the same time it helped to bring them together and brought home to them the fact that the Hindu was the common enemy of the Islamic states of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya had already secured the Doab. By the occupation of Itgīr on one side and Kovilconda on the other, the natural boundaries formed by the Krishnā, between Bījāpur-Golcondā and Vijayanagar had been destroyed. To Rāma Rāya, therefore, the acquisition of these districts was merely the beginning of an encroachment on the territory of the Deccan sultanates which in the end were to succumb to the Hindu arms. But he was too rash and the Muhammadan monarchs had learnt their lesson. Rāma Rāya was trying to become the military dictator and the arbiter of the destinies of the Deccan sultanates. It was he who had asked Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in 1558 to withdraw his alliance from Ahmadnagar; it was he who had dictated terms to Husain Nizām Shāh; it was he who had compelled even his ally 'Alī Ādil Shāh to cede to him the strategic districts adjoining the Doāb. No more proofs of the sinister intentions of Rāma Rāya were necessary for the Deccan sultans. His reckless diplomacy and inconsiderate attitude towards Islam filled their minds with disgust. And out of this was born their hatred towards the empire of Vijayanagar, the source of Rāma Rāya's strength, the symbol of his arrogance. If the sultanates wanted to save themselves from the menace of the Hindu autocrat, their salvation lay in uniting together against him for destroying his military strength and overthrowing the Hindu Empire. And this they proceeded to do.

The Muslim Confederacy: Battle of Talikota:—The idea of the Muslim confederacy originated at Ahmadnagar.[37] Husain Nizām Shāh placed it before Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda who approved of it and sent Mustafā Khān Ardastānī, one of his nobles, to Ahmadnagar to complete the negotiations. From Ahmadnagar Mustafā Khān went to Bījāpur for inducing 'Alī to join the league. Husain Nizām Shāh proposed a dual marriage alliance: his

37. *TM*, 62a; Burhān, 410-411.

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daughter Chānd Bībī was to be given in marriage to 'Alī and 'Alī's sister Hadiyya Sultān was to be married to Husain's son Murtazā. Further, the fortress of Sholāpur, which had hitherto been a bone of contention was to be handed over to Bījāpur as the marriage dowry of Chānd Bībī. These were not mere empty promises, false representations or futile negotiations. To allay 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's suspicions Husain even offered to send his children as hostages to Bījāpur.[38] But 'Alī did not need this show of elaborate earnestness to persuade him to join the league. He was utterly disgusted with his ertswhile ally, Rāma Rāya, and was apprehensive of the Hindu advance beyond the Doāb. He had found out Rāma Rāya for what he was—a professed friend of Bījāpur but the potential enemy of Islam. This anomalous position could no longer continue. To join the proposed alliance was to 'Alī not only a loyal duty, but an essential policy. 'Alī Barīd Shāh was also drawn into the alliance. The confederacy was complete.

It was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who sent the ultimatum to the Hindu king for the surrender of the districts recently wrested by Vijayanagar from Bījāpur and Golcondā. As was to be expected the arrogant Hindu turned down the demand, declared his intention of resisting it with the force of arms if necessary and drove the 'Ādilshāhī envoy out of the Hindu capital.[39] The other resident ambassadors of the Deccan sultans also left in sympathy, thus bringing home to Rāma Rāya, in this instance at least, the solidarity of the Muhammadan monarchs.

The volume of mighty events was steadily reaching its climax. War was inevitable. Both sides knew it and were prepared for it. The allied armies had been already mobilised. They left Bījāpur on December 24, 1564 and encamped at Talikota[40] twenty-five miles north of the Krishna.

38. *TM*, 62b; *TMQS*, 109b-111a; *FA*, 90a-92b; Ferishta II, 72.
39. Ferishta II, 72; *BS*, 95-96.
40. *TM*, 63a; *TMQS*, 111b; Ferishta II, 72-73. For the numbers of the Hindu and Muhammadan armies see Ferishta II, 73, 250, 252; *ADV*, 200; Sewell, 20-1-02; *CHI*, III, 448. The final battle which took place on the right bank of the Krishna was popularly known as the battle of Talikota, because the village of Talikota was the first base of the Muslim armies. The villages Rakkasgi-Tangadgi are actually on the left bank of the river.

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Rāma Rāya took measures for the defence of the Doāb by sending his brother Tirumala with a strong force to occupy the fords of the Krishna. Another division followed under a second brother, Venkatādri, while Rāma Rāya himself brought up the rear with the main body of his army. The allies, on arriving at the river, found that their only course was to force the ford immediately before them and they resolved to draw their opponents out of their position by a feint. They accordingly marched by the river as if to attempt a passage at a different point, and were followed on the other side by the Hindus. On the third night they suddenly reversed and, gaining the now undefended ford, succeeded in carrying over their whole army.[41] This was a great triumph for the allies who proved that they were superior in military manoeuvres if not in numbers.

The morning of January 25, 1565 saw the two armies confronting each other on the since memorable battlefield of Rakshas-Tagdi on the bank of the Krishna, some 14 miles from Talikota, which stands on the Don. Husain Nizām Shāh was in the centre of the allied armies, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was to his right and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd Shāh to the left. Husain was faced by Rāma Rāya in the centre of the enemy ranks. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh found himself against Venkatādri, and the left wing of the allies confronted the Hindu contingent under Tirumala. The allied artillery was in the centre of the front line under the command of an able Turkish gunner, Chalabī Rūmī Khān.[42] The Hindu front was protected by a large number of war elephants as well as cannon.

The left wing of the Hindus under Venkatādri was the first to attack and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who had to bear its brunt was forced to draw back under the vigorous impact. Tirumala too was successful in pushing back the left wing of the allied army.[43] But the artillery came to the rescue of the allies. Under its constant fire the Hindus could not come within an easy distance of the allied centre. This saved the centre and ultimately the allies. The artillery under the direction of Chalabī Rūmī Khān caused great

41. Ferishta II, 73; Sewell, 199-200; *TM*, 63a; *BS*, 98-99.
42. Ferishta II, 250-51; *FA*, 95b-96b; Burhān, 423.
43. Ferishta II, 75.

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havoc among the Hindu contingents commanded by Rāma Rāya. Taking advantage of this visible confusion, Kishvar Khān, one of the lieutenants under Husain Nizām Shāh, charged the enemy centre with his cavalry.[44] The destruction caused by Rūmī Khān's gunners was completed by the charge of Kishvar Khān's brigade.

Husain Nizām Shāh followed up this advantage with a general charge of his cavalry and completely routed the centre of the Hindu army. At this juncture Rāma Rāya himself was brought before Husain. The capture of the Hindu was fortuitous. One of the Nizamshahi war-elephants had strayed beyond his line and had come up with litter which carried Rāma Rāya. His body-guard was panic-stricken and fled. The *mahūt* recognised the Hindu king and ordered his elephant to pick him up. Seeing their leader gone, the remaining Hindu army broke up like a herd of stampeded cattle. Husain Nizām Shāh, after delivering one final address of pent-up hatred, ordered the Hindu's execution.[45]

This was the end of the battle. It was also the end of Rāma Rāya's fatal foreign policy, which had spelt for its originator immediate triumph but ultimate disaster. At last, by their unity, the Deccan sultanates had vanquished their traditional enemy and won a well-deserved triumph, a triumph so persistently pursued but never realised by the Bahmanī Emperors.

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45. Ferishta II, 76, 251-52; *TM*, 64b.

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TMQS—Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutbshāhī. British Museum Manuscript, Additional, 6,542.

European travellers mentioned in footnotes 2 and 3 have been published by the Hakluyt Society.

The only MS of FA known today is in the British Museum. Its author was at Bījāpur during the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. Rafī-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī the author of TM was an officer under 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bījāpur. He was present at the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi. Copies of TM are available in India though not easily accessible.

Sources of Vijayanagar History edited by Krishnaswamy Iyengar and Further Sources of Vijayanagar History by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya give fully the Hindu source material on Muslim-Vijayanagar relations, but they throw no light on the points mentioned in the first section of this paper and in no way affect my general thesis in subsequent sections.

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Orchha Succession, 1837-1842

BY

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA, M.A., D.PHIL.,
University of Saugar

Ever since the emergence of the East India Company as the Paramount Power in India, its attitude towards the Indian Princes in matters of succession underwent a gradual change. Succession questions assumed a new meaning and importance. They were used to promote the rights and interests of the Company and to undermine those of the Princes who had come under its virtual guardianship and could be removed by its superior might, whenever it was thought to be necessary. Ordinarily, these problems were purely of internal concern for the Indian Princes with which, legally, the British Government had nothing to do, but, in course of time, the interest shown by the British representatives in India in these issues served as one of the ways of making the Princes and their subjects feel that the princely states were subordinate to the British power which enjoyed superior political status in India. Interference of this nature, although not stipulated in the treaties, gradually developed into a common practice with the changing political status of the East India Company in India, largely because the safety and promotion of British interests depended on the character and capacity of the Princes and their attitude towards the British power. During the process of the formulation of the principles of paramountcy and determination of their scope and mode of application, the first serious casualty was the interest of the Princes and their subjects. It was at their expense that the scope of paramountcy became increasingly more comprehensive. The safety of the interests of the Princes depended mostly on the British benevolence and on their loyalty and submission to the imperial overlords.

In this relationship of a superior and a subordinate and in the circumstances entirely unfavourable to the continuance of the internal sovereignty of the Indian states, disinterested approach to the issues of succession by the Paramount Power was

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hardly possible. Without any sound legal basis and most often with questionable right, the grant of recognition to the adopted son and to his right to succeed was assumed as a privilege and a responsibility of the protecting power. The problem of succession, therefore, resolved itself into two distinct questions. Firstly, whether the Princes and chiefs not having natural heirs should be allowed to enjoy a right to adopt a successor to the exclusion of their collateral heirs or to the prejudice of the supposed reversionary rights of the Paramount Power. Secondly, whether the British Government was bound to acknowledge the adoption so made.[1]

These questions came up for discussion and decision when Raja Tej Singh Bahadur of Orchha applied to the British Government in 1837 for grant of recognition to his adopted son to succeed him after his death.[2] He himself had succeeded his elder brother, Mahendra Vikramajit, in 1834, in the absence of his lineal descendant and like him he too had no son of his own to succeed him. Unlike his brother, he had no younger brother or a nephew whom he could have nominated as his successor. He, therefore, adopted his cousin's son, Kunwar Sujan Singh, whom he had cherished as his son since his birth, in accordance with the established religious rites and ceremonies, and requested the Agent to the Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to gratify him in his old age by presenting a *khilat* to his adopted son. He assured him that for this favour his successor would always display fidelity to the British Government as his predecessors had done till then.[3]

The Political Agent felt that the subject of succession to the chiefships of Bundelkhand was so frequent that it necessitated the formulation of a principle for general application. With this end in view, he pieced together the information he had collected from his office records and other sources and decided to present a comprehensive view of the general issue of succession and to suggest a probable line of policy to be adopted in respect

1. Agra Political Narrative, 31st December, 1837.
2. Translation of a letter from the Raja of Orchha to the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P., forwarded by the Agent in Bundelkhand to his Secretary on 7th June, 1837.
3. *Ibid.*

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of succession to the *gaddi* of Orchha.[4] As the pending issue was concerned with the leading principality of Bundelkhand, a clear exposition of British policy in regard to succession was considered to be most opportune. In making this suggestion his object was three-fold. Firstly, to study the circumstances under which certain principalities and jagirs of Bundelkhand were transmitted in the past to persons not being lineal descendants of their immediate predecessors. Secondly, to find out whether the succession was admitted in those cases as a matter of right or merely as an act of benevolent consideration. Thirdly, to ascertain whether the persons so succeeding were actually entitled to succeed under the customary private law of inheritance.[5]

To accomplish his work, Fraser, the Political Agent, collected geneological tables of the ruling families of the states of Bundelkhand where succession in the past had gone to the adopted sons of the rulers and carefully examined the terms of the treaties or *sanads* relating to them along with the correspondence on the past issues of succession.[6] A thorough examination of all the available material brought to his notice as many as nine instances in which grounds of claims other than legitimacy were sanctioned by the British Government, but in all those cases no fixed principle of succession was evolved. In the pre-British period, in certain cases, the rights of collaterals were upheld in opposition to the claims of the adopted sons, while in others they were entirely overlooked. In some cases rights altogether new were created and in others rights of a questionable character were confirmed and they were recognized by the succeeding paramountcies.[7] The only point common to all the cases was that while recognizing successions British obligations were invariably emphasized. Another striking feature was that in most of the cases absence of uniformity of principles was conspicuous.

Fraser did not favour the existence of this senseless conglomeration of conflicting principles. He considered the idea of

4. Two letters from the British Agent, S. Fraser to the Lt.-Governor N.W.P., 7th June & 7th October, 1837.
5. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, Officiating Secretary to the Lt.-Governor N.W.P., 7th October, 1837.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*

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having different principles for different cases as incredible. The use of discretionary authority as law did not appeal to him. He was firm in his opinion that the discretion of sanctioning succession should be more carefully exercised in future and the right of the chiefs to adopt should be admitted only to the extent recognized by the engagements concluded with them.[8] The words *aulad, akhlaf* and *ahfad,* used in engagements, were applicable only to lineal descendants and to no one else. On the soundness of the claims of a successor and his capability would depend the efficiency and good government in the state. He ascribed the lamentable inefficiency in the administration of the leading states of Bundelkhand Agency to 'the authorities devoid of energy, internal dissensions and exhausted resources'. He, therefore, expressed his view that 'before personal consideration towards individuals was allowed to interfere beyond the limits of existing engagements, to the prejudice of the interests of thousands, it deserved grave consideration whether more suitable arrangements might not, and ought not, to be framed'.[9] He doubted the right of the Paramount Power to overlook the claims of the collateral heirs and felt that it was neither desirable nor wise to do so, as it was done in the cases of Datia and Charkhari under certain contingent circumstances. In accordance with this view, he did not hold the claims of Raja Tej Singh of Orchha, to adopt a son to the exclusion of the claims of his collaterals and to the prejudice of the rights and interests of the Paramount Power, to be valid. He did not find any reason why the right of the latter to resume hereditary territories in the absence of lineal descendants should not be asserted and enforced.[10] However, even if the British Government was inclined to waive its own claims, due to inexpedient circumstances, and to leave successions to be adjusted by local influences, it had no right to ignore those of the collaterals of the ruling families. He was, therefore, of opinion that in the pending case of succession at Orchha the application of the Raja should not be entertained, as the adopted heir was not the next of kin.[11]

8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

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Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P., did not agree with the views and recommendations of Fraser.[12] He found that the Political Agent had ignored the difference between the two categories of Princes in Bundelkhand, viz., the sovereign Princes and the Jagirdars, or those in possession of the hereditary sovereignties in their own rights and those who held grants of lands or public revenues by gift from a sovereign or Paramount Power. These two kinds of states having different status enjoyed different kinds of rights. The sovereign Princes had a right to adopt to the exclusion of their collaterals and the so-called reversionary rights of the Paramount Power in accordance with the laws of the land. In their cases, the British Government was bound to acknowledge adoptions, if they were regular and not in violation of their customary legal tenets.[13] In the cases of the second category of states, the Paramount Power was entitled to limit successions according to the terms of the grants which were in general, confined only to the legitimate sons and consequently precluded adoptions. In the absence of male heirs of these Princes, their states could be annexed by the overlord by right.[14]

Having thus defined the two categories of states in Bundelkhand, Metcalfe asked Fraser to classify the Princes within the range of his superintendence into the specified categories and to state reasons for assigning them to different classes. If, however, there existed an intermediate category of states whom it might be difficult to assign precisely to either of the two classes, he was asked to state the details of the cases and submit documents in support of his view. In the light of this interpretation, Fraser was asked to report precisely and exactly as to which class of chiefs he considered the Raja of Orchha to belong.[15] To Metcalfe it seemed that he was a sovereign Prince, and being a Hindu, he was fully entitled to adopt a son and successor in the absence of his own. He regarded the adoption made by the Raja as 'an unobjectionable arrangement'.[16] He disputed the statement

12. Minute of C.T. Metcalfe, Lt.-Governor, N.W.P., 28th Oct., 1837: Extract from Agra Political Narrative, 31st December, 1837.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*

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of Fraser, that the former decisions of the British Government in acknowledging successions in the states of Bundelkhand were incoherent, and said that the one underlying principle, which generally operated on such occasions, had been that of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States by which a succession apparently agreeable to the Prince and the people or to the latter on the demise of the former, was recognized.[17] However, he asked Fraser to study the case of Orchha afresh and submit a revised report to be placed before the Supreme Government for final orders.

For about three and a half years the question of succession dragged on, as the British Government was engaged in the Afghan problem and there was no hurry about succession in Orchha. In the meantime, a political insurrection occurred at Chirgaon, in which participation or connivance of Raja Tej Singh was alleged. The Political Agent, who had already shown disfavour to adoption in 1837, now found an additional reason to reinforce his opposition to it and to work for its annulment. In his letter of the 28th May 1841, he held the Raja guilty of rendering help to his subordinate Jagirdar, Bakhat Singh of Chirgaon, in his rebellion against the British authority, with a detachment of his army under Hirdai Shah of Bigna, the father of the boy whom he had adopted as his son and successor. In the opinion of Fraser, this complicity alone in the absence of any other evidence against him was sufficient to convict him for having directly encouraged the rebel Jagirdar to defy British authority.[18]

The Governor-General-in-Council took a very serious view of the matter.[19] There seemed to be strong reasons for believing the allegations to be true. The conduct of the Raja and the attitude of his feudatories, who were notorious for refractory and insubordinate disposition, were considered to be tantamount to direct violation of their obligations to the British Government and open hostility to its power. But Orchha, being a powerful, resourceful, influential and substantive state of great antiquity,

17. *Ibid.*

18. A letter from J. Thomason, Secretary to the Govt. of N.W.P., to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Govt. of India, 22nd June, 1841, No. 66.

19. A letter from Maddock to Thomason, 19th July, 1841.

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commanding respect all over Bundelkhand, and its former ruler, the late Mahendra Vikramajit, being well-known for his creditable fidelity and unflinching adherence to the terms of alliance with the British Government for nearly thirty years, any drastic action against his state seemed to be premature, risky and inexpedient. However, as a preliminary step to any measure or demand of an unpalatable nature, it was thought necessary to give the Raja an opportunity to explain the charge against him.[20] Any punishment to be inflicted upon him was to be decided after a thorough enquiry and only when the allegation against him was found to be correct. If, however, at the end it was considered expedient not to punish him, it would be necessary at least to express British displeasure and administer a severe warning for the future, while granting recognition to his adopted son.[21]

The Raja's reply to the enquiry was more of a simple denial than explanation.[22] He admitted the presence of Hirdai Shah at Chirgaon at the time of insurrection, but denied the allegation of his participation in the hostile acts of Bakhat Singh. This evidence was not considered sufficient to convince the Political Agent and the Lt.-Governor that the Raja was innocent.[23] He refused to place any credit on his denial and considered his guilt to be sufficiently established. They felt that the Raja's conduct was not unequivocal and unexceptionable. If he had no hostile intentions, he could have prevented or discouraged Bakhat Singh from raising a standard of revolt. In opposition to the wishes of the influential Raja and without his connivance, the rebel leader could not have taken courage to defy the British authority.[24] In spite of this conviction, the Lt.-Governor considered any drastic action against him to be inexpedient, as it might create disaffection in Bundelkhand. He, however, suggested that the Paramount Power would be fully warranted in attaching any condition to the grant of sanction to adoption, short of exercising strictly its right of resumption on failure of direct heirs.[25]

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. A letter from Hamilton to Maddock, 30th October, 1841, No. 110.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*

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This complicated case was considered so important that it was discussed threadbare in the Executive Council. Mr. Maddock, the Secretary to the Government, wrote a comprehensive note on the status of the Raja, his conduct in the rebellion of the jagirdar of Chirgaon and his right to adopt an heir.[26] Minutes were written by H. T. Prinsep,[27] W. W. Bird[28] and the Governor-General[29] before any decision was taken. A brief mention of these is essential for having a clear understanding and a complete picture of the issue.

Maddock felt that, if the Raja's guilt was proved, he should be held responsible for having broken the treaty with the British Government. In this altered state of affairs, the Paramount Power would be fully justified in imposing new terms on him for ensuring peace and tranquillity in Bundelkhand. Unlike Metcalfe, he doubted if Orchha was ever regarded as a sovereign state. He believed that originally its ruler was only a liege-lord under the Mughal Emperors, and afterwards, when Baji Rao Peshwa gained ascendancy over Bundelkhand, he ceded to him a part of his territory and in return secured protection from the Maratha *Subedar* of Jhansi. This cession of territory was nothing but a price of protection, and Orchha was undoubtedly a protected state under the Peshwa from whom the paramountcy had passed on to the East India Company.[30] By the treaty concluded with him, British protection was extended to him and he was placed on the same footing in relation to the British Government as the other Rajas of that region.[31] In default of heirs, all the states of Bundelkhand were liable to lapse to the British Government. Although Maddock did not suggest this course, he argued against the grant of any indulgence to the state of Orchha which was denied to her by the Mughal Emperors and the Maratha overlords. He did not consider it to be a right course for the British Government to forego its supremacy in giving direction to the states in matters of succession.[32] In the pending case of Orchha, he found

26. Note by T. H. Maddock, 22nd November, 1841.
27. Minute by H. T. Prinsep, January, 1842.
28. Minute by W. W. Bird, 12th January, 1842.
29. Minute by Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.
30. Note by T. S. Maddock, 22nd November, 1841.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

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several additional reasons for treating the presentation of a *khilat* as a favour for which an equivalent could reasonably be demanded.[33]

Ignoring the stress of circumstances in which the East India Company had entered into treaties with the princely states of Bundelkhand with an object to ensure its own safety, and arrogating qualities of benevolence to his government, Maddock stated that by an excess of liberality the British Government had allowed the chiefs of Bundelkhand to continue to retain their territories and revenues and had granted them protection from foreign invasions and internal turmoils in lieu of a hope that they would work as effective barriers against foreign invasions on the British territory.[34] That danger had long ceased to exist and there remained nothing for the states to reciprocate. The protected states of Bundelkhand were, therefore, termed as the most favoured and the most pampered of all the British dependencies in India. Unlike the protected states of other regions, they had contributed nothing either to the financial or military resources of the Paramount Power. Hence, on the plea of the alleged misconduct of the Raja of Orchha, this opportunity of altering the terms of the past engagements with the Bundelkhand chiefs was considered to be the most opportune.[35] He, therefore, suggested a scheme of initiating with Orchha the policy of commuting the general duties of the Princes to render military service to the Paramount Power into contributions for maintaining an adequate and efficient military force permanently in Bundelkhand.[36] This was intended to be the surest guarantee for the maintenance of tranquillity in that region, and it was considered to be the least that could be required from any class of states. He had no doubts that this much would be attained to with little or no difficulties.[37]

Besides making these observations and giving indications of the policy to be pursued, Maddock advised that the Political Agent should explain to the Raja of Orchha that the Supreme Government was highly dissatisfied with his conduct and that the tension

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid*

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created by the Chirgaon insurrection had convinced the British Government of the necessity of maintaining a disciplined force in Bundelkhand to be paid for by all the chiefs of that region.[38] Hence, as a mark of his repentance and pledge for his future loyalty, he should be asked to pay an annual contribution of one lakh of rupees in lieu of military service to the Paramount Power, if he desired the restoration of British favour and friendship to himself and grant of recognition to his adopted son to succeed him to the throne. Maddock was quite sure that the Raja of Orchha would not offer any serious objection to this requirement, as his military resources were too insignificant to enable him to express resentment and risk his possessions by an indiscreet armed opposition to the British power.[39]

After a careful perusal of the relevant documents and realizing the adverse results of direct intervention, Lord Auckland considered it inexpedient to adopt a drastic policy towards Orchha for the alleged participation or connivance of its ruler in the resistance offered to the British authority at Chirgaon by one of his dependent jagirdars.[40] He ruled out the idea of lapse and refused to accept the doctrine that the British Government should not observe scrupulously the terms of its engagements with the states of Bundelkhand in view of material alteration in the circumstances in which they were signed.[41] In support of his contention, he recalled the preamble to the treaty with Orchha, concluded on the 23rd December, 1842,[42] which clearly defined the status of its ruler whose ancestors had been holding the state since ancient times without paying tribute or acknowledging vassalage to any other power. The treaty was designated as one of friendship and alliance by which the state was guaranteed to its ruler and his heirs and successors. In view of these clear terms, Lord Auckland considered it impossible to raise any doubt as to the status of the Raja and decided to regard him as a sovereign Prince who was entitled, as suggetsed by Metcalfe on the 28th October, 1837, to make an adoption which the British Government was legally

38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Minute by the Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Aitchison: Treaties, Engagements & Sanads, Vol. V, pp. 85-86.

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bound to recognize, provided that the adoption was regular and not in violation of the Hindu Law.[43] He was opposed to the idea of mixing up the two separate issues of the recognition of the right of the Raja to adopt and the punishment to be inflicted on him for his unwarranted opposition to the British power.[44]

As regards the alleged guilt of the Raja, Lord Auckland found sufficient presumptive evidence to establish the charge. But he felt that the assumption of Chirgaon and the adoption of other contemplated measures for strengthening the British hold over Bundelkhand would be quite enough to meet the grave situation. They would weaken his position so much that infliction of any other punishment on him would be too severe and its repercussions would not be in British favour. Any drastic action might result in the adoption of measures which might completely alter the terms of his engagement and create dissatisfaction in the state.[45] He, therefore, decided to ask the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. to admonish the Raja strongly that by his conduct he had laid himself open to suspicion of the British Government, and warn him against the repetition of an offence of that nature, which might result in the annulment of the treaty and the withdrawal of protection from him.[46] Besides this, he endorsed the suggestion of Maddock and decided to use this occasion as the best opportunity to commute the general obligation of the dependent allies in Bundelkhand to render military service to the Paramount Power into a specific stipulation to contribute for the maintenance of a strong military contingent disciplined and commanded by British Officers. In the achievement of this object, cautious approach was enjoined and due regard was to be shown to the financial condition of the states and to the reactions of the Princes who were to be affected by it.[47]

W. W. Bird subscribed to the views of Lord Auckland and saw no reason to depart from the well-established policy. He suggested scrupulous adherence to the terms of the treaty and strongly recommended that the two issues should be dealt with separately.[48]

43. Minute by the Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Minute of W. W. Bird, 12th January, 1842.

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H. T. Prinsep was of opinion that the states of Bundelkhand in their relations with the British Government were not better than the protected states of other regions. Among them, Orchha belonged to a superior class like the ruler of Rewa in Baghelkhand. Having no natural heir, the Raja provided for sucession and he had every right to do so even to the exclusion of the claims of his collaterals.[49] Being an old inheritance, neither of British creation nor a product of the Peshwa's bounty to whose rights the company had succeeded, the British Government was not entitled to claim the Raj as a lapse on failure of a direct heir to the prejudice of his right to adopt or of the rights of his collaterals to succeed.[50] He treated this case as quite different from that of Jalaun which was only a jagir and a subordinate province of the Peshwa to which only direct descendants from the first *Subedar* could have a just claim to succeed.[51]

The views of Lord Auckland, W. W. Bird, H. T. Prinsep and C. T. Metcalfe were more or less the same, while those of Fraser and Maddock were different in several respects. However, the recommendations of Maddock were almost akin to those of the Governor-General and the members of his council. Hence, the views and recommendations of Fraser were rejected and those of the Governor-General were communicated to the Lt.-Governor as decisions of the Supreme Government to be carried into effect.[52] Thus the right of the ruler of Orchha to adopt was formally acknowledged, provided it was regular and in accordance with the Hindu Law of sucession.

Soon after this decision was taken, Raja Tej Singh became seriously ill and infirm in health. When Fraser paid him a visit on the 21st March, he placed his adopted son before him and sought British protection and favour for him. Fraser warmly shook hand with the boy and the Raja gave assurances of his fidelity and attachment to the Paramount Power.[53] Two days after,

49. Minute by H. T. Prinsep, 12th January, 1842.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. A letter from T. H. Maddock to R. N. C. Hamilton, 17th January, 1842, No. 108.
53. Translation of a letter from the Raja or Orchha to Fraser, 23rd March, 1842.

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when due to a sudden attack of malignant fever, the Raja became despondent of his life, he formally placed his adopted son on the *gaddi*, abdicated in his favour and solicited a *khilat* for him in token of British recognition to his succession.[54] Before the receipt of this communication, the Political Agent reported to the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. the existence of two parties in Orchha of which the principal one was in favour of adoption made by the Raja while the other one openly disputed it on the plea that the right of the widow of Dharampal Singh (son of Mahendra Vikramajit) to nominate a successor was superior to that of Raja Tej Singh, whom it accused of having obtained the *Raj* fraudulently. In this state of affairs, Fraser advised cautious approach to the issue and considered any premature step to be risky and full of dangerous possibilities.[55] To the Raja's letter he gave no reply in writing, but made it clear to his *vakil* that the British Government had no intention to interfere in the matter of succession. On the 30th March, he suggested to the Lt.-Governor to allow the things to take their natural course and to hold the recognition of the claims of Sujan Singh in abeyance, till it was clearly ascertained whether he was acceptable to the influential persons in the state.[56]

On the same date Raja Tej Singh expired. His adopted son, Sujan Singh, communicated the melancholy event to the Political Agent and asked his *Mukhtar* to solicit British support for him.[57] Fraser refused to oblige him even with a formal letter of condolence on the plea that his claims were not undisputed. He stated that the British Government might review all the circumstances before giving a final decision which would be influenced largely by the views of the leading personalities of the *Raj*.[58] This attitude of Fraser evinced a doubt whether the majority of the chiefs of Orchha would accord recognition to Sujan Singh.

When the affairs at Orchha were at this stage and Fraser was reinforcing his opposition to Sujan Singh's succession, the

54. *Ibid.*
55. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, 24th March, 1842, No. 62.
56. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, 30th March, 1842.
57. A letter from Raja Sujan Singh to the Lt.-Governor of N. W. P., received on April 1, 1842.
58. A letter from Fraser to Hamilton, 7th April, 1842.

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Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. communicated the orders of the Governor-General to him that the right of the late ruler to adopt a successor was unquestionable and instructed him to discourage any agitation in the state which might create doubts in the minds of the people of Orchha about the legality of adoption made by him in 1837 without any opposition.[59] Raja Tej Singh was supposed to have legitimately succeeded his brother and his succession was duly recognised in 1834. Similarly, the proceedings relating to the adoption of Sujan Singh and the details of the case reported in 1837 by the Political Agent never indicated that his adoption was irregular and against the established legal procedure. Since no objection was raised to his adoption for four years, there was no reason to question its legitimacy.[60] Hence, it was considered impolitic to postpone recognition to adoption which might create demoralizing effect on the ambitious minds and result in complications. Formal recognition by the British Government would give stability to administration and put an end to wild speculations about the British attitude towards the principality of Orchha. No further delay was, therefore, permitted and Fraser was asked to follow a definite policy of granting unqualified recognition to Raja Sujan Singh.[61]

In accordance with this instruction, Fraser addressed a letter to Sujan Singh recognising him as the ruler of Orchha and asked him to abide by the advice and instructions of the Paramount Power, to strengthen the existing bonds of interests by an uniformly steady and impartial administration and secure the good will and confidence of his subjects.[62] This letter was perfectly in accordance with the views of the Supreme Government and was approved by the Lt.-Governor.[63]

In this case of succession, the approach of the Political Agent was swayed by prejudices against Raja Tej Singh and his adopted son Sujan Singh. In his desire to prevent the son of Dewan Hirdai Shah, the supporter of the rebel jagirdar of Chirgaon, from suc-

59. A letter from Hamilton to Fraser, 7th April, 1842.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. A letter from Fraser to Raja Sujan Singh, 11th April, 1842.
63. A letter from the Secretary to the Govt. of N.W.P., to Fraser, 16th April, 1842.

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ceeding to the *gaddi* of the leading principality of Bundelkhand, Fraser postponed the grant of recognition to him on all sorts of pleas. But ultimately the principle of expediency determined the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council who was not disposed to risk British interests by causing annoyance to the Indian Princes whose confidence in the British sense of justice was shaky. Orchha being the oldest and the most influential and respectable state in Bundelkhand, it was considered essential to discourage the growth of political tension which might imperil British interests in topographically the most difficult region in India. The loyalty of Mahendra Vikramajit of Orchha had been so greatly helpful to the British cause in Bundelkhand since the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and defensive alliance in 1812, that postponement of recognition to the adoption made by his successor was most likely to be interpreted differently by the turbulent and sensitive Bundelas. That is why the wishes of the man on the spot were overruled and a diplomatically expedient policy was pursued.

Although the British Government treated this question of succession to be a closed issue, peace did not prevail in the royal palace. Failure to grant prompt recognition to Raja Sujan Singh had its effect. His right to succeed was disputed by the widow of Dharmpal who came to be known as the *Larai Rani*. She claimed for herself the right to adopt a sucecssor to the state. Her pretensions led to some tension and disturbances in the state. But, as the adoption of Sujan Singh was quite regular and it was already recognised by the British Government and acquiesced in by the neighbouring chiefs, the British Government effected a happy compromise by appointing the Rani as Regent till Sujan Singh attained his mature age.[64] The issue of succession thus became a closed chapter.

64. Aitchison: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. V, p. 9.

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The River Nerañjarā (Nairañjanā) of Buddhist Fame

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HONY. F.R.A.S. (LONDON),

Membre d'Honneur de la Société Asiatique de Paris (France).

Designation.

The Nerañjarā was a famous river of Ancient India. It was also known as Nairañjanā and Nirañjanā.[1] It was known to the Chinese as Ni-lien-shen,[2] Ni-len-shan[3] and Ni-len-shan-na.[4] According to the *Shui-ching-chu*[5] it was named as Ni-lien-ch'an. The Greeks knew it as Errhenysis.[6]

Location — Two tributaries of the Phalgu river.

The river Nairañjanā flowed through the city of Gayā. According to the *Shui-ching-chu* this river flowed to the south into the river Ganges (Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu*, p. 49). It was visited by the Buddha.[7] It may be identified with the modern Phalgu river. Nīlājanā and Mohanā are the two branches of the Nairañjanā. The united flow of these two hill-streams Nīlājanā and Mohanā is called the Phalgu. The name of Lilājan or Nīlājan is restricted to the western branch which joins the Mohāni, 5 miles above Gayā.[8] The two hill streams meet together above Bodhgayā, which is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nīlājanā or Nairañjanā or Nirañjanā, which has its source

1. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Mediaeval India*, p. 135.
2. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 522.
3. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 103.
4. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 138.
5. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-chin-chu*, pp. 48-49.
6. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Ed. S. N. Majumdar, 97.
7. *Buddhacarita-Kāvya*, Bk. XII, v. 88.
8. Cunningham, *Ancient Geo.*, p. 524.

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near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.[9] The river Phalgu receives two tributaries, one in the district of Patna, and the other called the Kiul in the district of Monghyr.

Two distinct rivers, Phalgu and Nerañjarā.

Dr. Barua holds that the Phalgu river and the stream further north were somehow just the continuation of the Nerañjarā.[10] According to the *District Gazetteer of Gayā* (p. 8), the river Nerañjarā flows north and south and intersects the district. The Phalgu impinges on a high rocky bank. It runs in a north-easterly direction for about 17 miles and opposite the Barabar hills. It takes the name of Mohanā[11] and divides into two branches flowing into a branch of the Pūnpūn. The Sarasvatī-Viśālā at Gayā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[12] is, according to Pargiter, probably modern Līlājān which flows past Bodh-Gayā.[13] According to Bohtlingk and Roth the Nerañjarā is known as the Phalgu. The Pali Canonical texts keep the two rivers distinct. The *Udāna*[14] mentions that the Jaṭilas of Gayā proper bathed in the Gayā or Phalgu river. The *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*[15] refers to the Jaṭilas bathing in a different river, the Nerañjarā.

Uruvelā

Uruvelā is found in Buddhist literature[16] as invariably associated with this river. It was visited by the Buddha many times where he saw nicely looking trees, pleasing lakes, plain grounds, and the transparent water of the Nerañjarā river.[17] The Uruvelā division on the banks of the Nerañjarā contained Senānigāma or Senānigama (identified by Bloch with the present village of Urel) and Nala, the native village of the celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa.

9. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 135.
10. Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, p. 102.
11. It is Magona according to Ptolemy (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S.N. Majumdar Ed.), p. 97.
12. Śalya Parva, XXXIX, 2188-89 & 2205-06.
13. Pargiter, *Markaṇḍeyap.* tr., p. 297.
14. *P.T.S.*, p. 6.
15. *P.T.S.*, p. 31.
16. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga, PTS.*, p. 1; *Udāna*, p. 10; *Mahāvastu*, II, 123; *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann Ed.), p. 311.
17. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 123.

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Phalgu frequently called a mahānadī. Nerañjara, a tīrtha, more sacred than the Ganges. Phalgutīrtha — its sanctity.

Gayā, one of the holy places of Ancient India, comprised three divisions, all located along the left bank of the Nerañjarā and Gayā rivers: Uruvelā, Nadī (meeting place of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadi) and Gayā.[18] The *Manorathapūraṇi*,[19] the commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, mentions a Mahāgaṅgā which was either the confluence of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadī or Soṇa river. The *Mahābhārata* (Vānaparva, Ch. 87) refers to the holy river Phalgu, which is frequently called the Mahānadī.[20] The river Nerañjarā is mentioned as a *tīrtha* (holy spot).[21] The Nerañjarā or Nairañjanā or the Phalgu river was more sacred than the Ganges.[22] The Phalgu-tīrtha was the best of all holy spots.[23] A person obtains greater merit by performing religious rites at Phalgu-tīrtha than one who performs 1000 times 1000 Aśvamedha sacrifices.[24] The *Agnipurāṇa*[25] mentions the Phalgu-tīrtha among many holy places. It says that after bathing in the Phalgu river one should perform *śrāddha* ceremony at Gayāśira. By taking a bath in the Phalgu river and seeing Gadādharadeva one saves himself according to the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ch. 49.19). A person after a bath in the Phalgu river should perform *tarpaṇa*[26] and *śrāddha*[27] with *piṇḍas* on the bank of the river Phalgu.[28] In the Vatthūpama sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* we read that the Phaggu or Phalgu is always for the holy. The holy rites have their origin in the pure deeds of the holy.

18. Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, p. 47.
19. Sinhalese Ed., II, 761.
20. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa*, 115.25.
21. *Mahāvastu*, II, 413.
22. *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*), Ch. 49.15.
23. *Ibid.*, Ch. 49.12.
24. *Ibid.*, Ch. 49.16.
25. Baṅgavāsī Ed. pp. 421 and 246.
26. Satisfying gods and deceased persons by offering to them libations of water (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 440).
27. *Śrāddha* is a ceremony in honour and for the departed relatives. (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 1097).
28. *Vāyupurāṇa*, Ch. 49.17; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, 664.

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Description — Big forest on the bank of the Nerañjarā, extensive sālagrove — The Nerañjara in flood.

The Nerañjarā was graced occasionally by the bathing beauties of the Nāgas.[29] It flowed like a multitude of jewels, showing the bathing places with gradual descents of steps.[30] The water of this river was transparent, cool, mudless and pure (*vimalanīla-sītala-salilaṃ ... suparisuddhaṃ nikkaddamaṃ*).[31] The river Nerañjarā had sand scattered appearing like a silver plate with plenty of fish and tortoises. It was charming (*manojña*), easy of access from neighbouring regions (*gocaragāmāni nātidūrāṇi gamanāgamanasampannāni*) and the alms for the monks were easily available (*sulabhapiṇḍam*).[32] It was in this river the Bodhisatta bathed and cooled his limbs (*gātrāni sītalikritvā*).[33] There was a big forest on the bank of this river.[34] According to the *Mahābodhivamsa*[35] there was an extensive sāla grove on its bank. The water of the Nerañjarā was perfumed by the scent of the flowers tied to the locks of hair of the beautiful women of Magadha. The bank of the Nerañjarā was full of reddish yellow coloured flowers fallen from the trees standing on it.[36] The beautiful river Nerañjarā was adorned with flowers (*ramyā ... kusumehi samākulā*). The Nerañjarā was not dried up during hot summer for it is said to have been forded on the full-moon day of Vesākha.[37] The bank of this river having pure water (*saccodakaṃ*) was adorned with trees and shrubs (*drumagulmairalaṅkritā*).[38] The river

29. *Lalitavistara*, p. 269; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 264.

30. *Papañcasūdanī* II, 173—*sandamānañ ca maṇikkhandhasadisa Vimalanīlasītalasalilaṃ Nerañjaraṃ nadīṃ anupubbagambhīrehi sundarehi titthehi upetaṃ.*

31. *Ibid.*, PTS., II, 173; *Lalitavistara*, p. 311; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 123—*sucisampannatoyaṃ.*

32. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 173-74; *Majjhima*, I, 166-67; *Mahāvastu*, II, 123; *Lalitavistara*, p. 248; Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, pp. 103, 162.

33. *Mahāvastu*, II, 264; *Lalitavistara*, p. 269.

34. *Dhammapada Commy.*, PTS., I, p. 86; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, PTS., p. 6.

35. PTS., p. 28—*Magadhasundarīkesapāsāgarudhūmakusumasurabhisalilāya Nerañjarāyanadiyā tire*

36. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 29—*taṭaruhaparigalitakusumareṇupiñjaraṃ Nerañjarātīraṃ.*

37. Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, p. 125.

38. *Lalitavistara*, p. 248; Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, 123—*vrikṣamūlāni.*

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Nerañjarā flowed calmly and had beautiful bank.[39] The *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* (p. 33) points out that the hair, the braids, the bundles on the carrying poles, and the implements for fire-worship, swept away by the current of this river, were seen by Nadīkassapa. The Nerañjarā was in flood. Kassapa (Sk. Kāśyapa) and his two disciples hastened in a boat to the rescue of the Buddha.[40]

Antelopes on the bank of the Nerañjarā.

The two Caṇḍālas went to a forest and took up ascetic life. After death they were re-born in the womb of a female deer on the bank of the Nerañjarā river. They were shot dead by a hunter.[41] The Caṇḍālas belonging to the town of Ujjenī in the kingdom of Avantī, were also re-born as antelopes on the bank of this river.[42]

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit. His account.

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim HiuenTsang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., travelled from the Sīlabhadra monastery 40 or 50 li south-west and then reached Gayā after crossing the Nerañjarā river.[43] He relates that Uruvilva Kāśyapa, Gayā and Nadī Kāśyapa were the three brothers, who were great scholars and magicians and who were worshippers of the element of fire. They had many disciples. Their home Uruvilva was on the Nairañjarā (Phalgu) river. The offering of rice-gruel was made in the neighbourhood of Uruvilva near the Nairañjanā river.[44] One offering was made by Sujātā who was a married lady at an early period of Siddhārtha's asceticism. Another offering was made by the daughters of Senāni named Nandā and Balā, when his mortifications were over.[45]

In a wood to the east of the Bodhi tree and on the other side of the Nairañjanā river there was a tope and to the north of it there was a tank.[46] Hiuen Tsang records that Uruvilva Kāśyapa went to the Buddha. He with his 500 followers received religious

39. *Mahāvastu*, II, 123. 40. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 629.
41. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, p. 392.
42. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 397.
43. Watters,, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 110; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 112-13.
44. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 111-12, 127.
45. *Ibid.*, II, 127.
46. *Ibid.*, II, p. 140.

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instructions from the Buddha who asked him to keep aside his leather garments and fire-sacrificing vessels. His disciples threw their articles of worship into the Nerañjarā river (Ni-len-shan-na) in obedience to the command of the Master. Nadī Kāśyapa saw them following the current of this river.[47] Hiuen Tsang further says that he came to the Bodhi tree which was protected by high and very solid brick walls; the wall stretching east and west is long but narrow from north to south. The principal gate faced the east, looking towards the river Nairañjanā.[48]

Three Jaṭila Brothers.

The three Jaṭila brothers (matted hair ascetics) named Uruvela Kassapa (Sk. Kāśyapa), Nadī Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa lived at Uruvelā or Uruvilva.[49] Kassapa of the river Nerañjarā also called Nadī Kassapa was the leader of 300 matted hair ascetics (*tiṇṇaṃ Jaṭilasatānaṃ nāyako hoti*—*Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., p. 24). On the bank of the river Nerañjarā the Buddha spoke to Uruvela Kassapa that he would stay for a day only in the fire-hall,[50] if not inconvenient to him. Uruvela Kassapa replied that it would not be inconvenient to him, as he was anxious for the comfort of the Master.[51] On cold nights at the time of the snowfall between the eighths (eighth day after fullmoon) the matted hair ascetics plunged themselves into the river Nerañjarā then emerging and repeatedly plunging in and out. Then the Buddha created 500 fine vessels, just where the matted hair ascetics having come up from the Nerañjarā river, warmed themselves.[52]

Uruvela Kassapa, the most important convert to Buddhism.

The Bodhisatta Siddhārtha went to the south side of the mount Gayā, to the village of the school of Uruvilva Kāśyapa and took up his abode at the foot of a tree near the bank of the lovely

47. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 130.
48. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 103.
49. The hamlet *Urel* represents the name of Uruvilva (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, XI, pp. vi, 147
50. Cf. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 41.
51. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, p. 25—*Aggīsālā* (*Agyāgāra*, p. 24).
52. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, pp. 31-32—*tena kho pana samayena te Jaṭilā sitāsu hemantikāsu rattisu antaraṭṭhakāsu himapātasamaye najjā Nerañjarāyaṃ nimujjanti pi ummujjanti pi ummujjanimujjaṃ pi karonti. Atha kho Bhagavā pañcamattāni mandāmukhīsatāni abhinimmini, yattha te Jaṭilā uttaritvā visibbesuṃ.* Cf. *Udāna* (PTS), p. 6.

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Nerañjarā and there he continued his mortifications making them more and more severe.[53] The Buddha thought that the most important convert he could make in Magadha was Uruvela Kassapa who was then aged 120, a man greatly revered throughout the land. He was regarded as an *arahat* (elect) who with his disciples was then stopping on the bank of the Nerañjarā.[54] His two brothers, each having 250 disciples, were living on the bank of this river a little lower down the stream.[55] Uruvela Kassapa and the member of his family came to know about the great miraculous power possessed by the Buddha. When they were trying to bring water, they could not see the water-pot. They thought of the Buddha and found it. They went to the Nerañjarā river but the water-pot could not be filled up. It was full of water when they remembered the Buddha's influence.[56]

Kassapa brothers' nephew.

Upasena, a nephew of Kassapa brothers, lived in a hermitage with 300 disciples (*triśata parivāro*) on the bank of the Nairañjanā. He acquired four stages of mystic meditation (*caturdhyāna*),[57] five supernatural faculties, (*pañcābhijñā*)[58] and great miraculous power.[59]

Sujātā, daughter of the headman Nandika. Her offering of milk rice to the Bodhisatta — The golden pot thrown into the river Nerañjarā — Svastika Yāvasika met by the Bodhisattva — The great serpent Kāla met the Bodhisattva on the bank of the Nerañjarā — Kāla saw Buddha preaching.

Sujātā was the daughter of the headman named Nandika of the Senāpati village at Uruvilva.[60] The Bodhisatta Siddhārtha

53. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 28.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
55. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 40-41.
56. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 427.
57. For details, R. C. Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 169; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 37ff.
58. They are possessed by *arahats* or elect e.g. *iddhividhā* (different miraculous or magical powers), *dibbasota* (the divine ear), *paracitta-vijānanam* (knowledge of the thoughts of others), *pabbenivāsānussatināṇam* (knowledge of former existences) and *dibbacakkhu* (the divine eye).
59. *Mahāvastu*, III, 431.
60. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), p. 267—*Nandikagrāmikaduhitā*.

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partook of 49 morsels of the milk-rice offered by Sujātā[61] early in the morning on the full-moon day of the month of Vesākha on the bank of Nerañjarā after taking his bath[62] in this river. He brought the golden vessel down to the river according to the general practice of the former *sambuddhas*. He threw it in the river saying, "If I be the Buddha today let it go against current."[63] He then repaired to the great Bo-terrace where he sat in uninterrupted or undisturbed meditation. Really speaking the Bodhisatta spent the day in various degrees of ecstatic meditation in the great forest on the bank of the Nerañjarā after having made the golden pot float in this river.[64] The Bodhisatta did not accept the kingdom of Magadha and he went to meditate in the extensive sāla-grove on its bank.[65] On his way between the river Nerañjarā and the Bo-tree the Bodhisatta saw Svastika Yāvasika carrying a bundle of straw (*triṇarāsilaṃcakaṃ*) as a gift.[66] When the heroic Bodhisattva came to the river Nairañjanā, Kāla, the great naga, began to reflect thus: "How does this great earth resound like a beaten pan of metal? No doubt a great hero is to appear in this world". The great nāga when he looked out, saw the peerless supreme man like a blazing fire-brand or like lightning among the clouds. The Bodhisattva went to the river Nairañjanā unhurried and undisturbed, bright like sacrificial fire. The great nāga Kāla extolled the Bodhisattva and said thus: "From the way you remove your robe and from the way you go down to the cool Nairañjanā river, there is no doubt that you will become the Buddha today".[67] On the day of the attainment of enlightenment on the

61. Cf. *Thūpavamsa* (PTS) Ch. I, p. 5; *Buddhavamsa*, II, v. 64; *Jāt.*, I, pp. 15, 68ff.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, 1, p. 86; *Sāsanavaṃsa* (PTS), p. 2—All of them refer to partaking of Sujātā's rice-gruel by the Bodhisatta on the bank of the river Nerañjarā.

62. Bodhisatta cooled his limbs—*Mahāvastu*, II, 264; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 54.

63. *Jinacarita*, V. 211; Cf. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 183—*Bodhisatto Nerañjarāyatīraṃ gantvā suvaṇṇathālaṃ tīre thapetvā nahātvā paccuttharitvā ekūnapaṇṇāsa piṇḍe karonto pāyāsaṃ paribhuñjitvā sacāhaṃ ajja Buddho bhavissāmithālaṃ paṭisotaṃ gachhatūti khipi*. Cf. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 2.

64. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, p. 86.

65. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, PTS., p. 28.

66. *Mahāvastu*, II, 264.

67. *Mahāvastu*, II, 397-98—*Yathā cīvaranikṣepā yathā ca avagāhasi Nairañjanāṃ sītakālāṃ adya buddho bhaviṣyasi.*

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bank of the Nerañjarā the Bodhisatta left the bowl which he himself rejected on its bank for Mahākālanāga.[68] Kāla saw the Buddha on its bank preaching the path of immortality, suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation.[69]

The Bodhisattva on the bank of the river.

The Bodhisattva whose every effort was pure, fixed his habitat on the pure bank of the Nairañjanā, as he was bent upon having a lonely dwelling.[70] Here he gave himself to meditation.[71] It so happened that due to extreme exhaustion he could not rise after bath from the river Nairañjanā.[72] The *Buddhacarita-kāvya* (Ch. XII, v. 105) informs us that the Bodhisattva slowly came up its bank after bath with the help of the trees standing on it, which he held by his hand on account of his bodily weakness. The congregation of monks cleaned the pots by putting them on the water of the Nairañjanā.[73]

The Bodhisatta (Bodhisattva) was very much emaciated by his mortifications and austerities. He passed his life subsisting on one sesamum seed and one jujube fruit for the emancipation of the whole world. Daily he used to take his bath in the Nairañjanā.[74]

Bodhisatta practising severe austerity.

The Bodhisatta visited the wood on the Uruvilva bank of the Nairañjanā river.[75] Here he practised severe austerity for final emancipation from the chain of births and deaths. He stayed like a fearless lion at Gayā after his bath in the Nairañjanā river.[76]

68. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 157; *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS., p. 228.
69. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 309-10. Four noble truths (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*).
70. *Buddhacarita-kāvya*, Bk. XII, v. 88.
71. Beal, *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, S.B.E. 142.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
73. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 431—*Bhikkhusaṅgho nadyāṃ Nairañjanāyāṃ pātrāṇi nimajjetvā sodhenti parimāryanti.*
74. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 4—*ekatilakolabhakkho.*
75. *Ibid.*, II, p. 208.
76. *Ibid.*, I, p. 4—*Nadiye Nairañjanāye snāyitvā agrapure Gayasāhvaye niside siṃho va asaṃtrastho.*

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First five disciples on the bank.

Five monks named Aññakondañña (Aññātakondañña) Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, and Assaji, who were in search for truth met the Bodhisatta on the bank of this river.[77]

Māra visiting the Bodhisatta on the bank of the river.

Māra came to the Bodhisatta while he was engaged in severe austerities in a forest at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā. He tried to induce him to give up renunciation, which it would be very difficult for him to achieve.[78] The Bodhisatta told Māra, the sinner, thus, "recollection (*smriti*), vivacity (*vīrya*) and meditation (*samādhi*) must exist. I shall attain salvation by leading the life of a mendicant. I shall destroy Māra's army by my wisdom." Māra then left him. Māra again approached him here and said, "what will you gain by this striving? Go and live at home. You will be an universal king. Perform great sacrifices, horse-sacrifice, human sacrifice etc. If you perform these sacrifices, you will rejoice in heaven after death. Striving is difficult. To live a life of chastity means the loss of blameless merit." The Bodhisatta replied, "I have no use for the deeds of merit."[79]

The Bodhisatta stopped for a moment after coming to the Nerañjarā. With the even soles of his feet he made the earth to tremble. On that occasion the great earthquake was terrifying and hair-raising. By this earthquake the great system of three thousand worlds was made level. The great oceans were violently stirred.[80]

77. *Jātaka*, I, p. 67. *Bodhisatto mahāpadhānaṃ padahitukāmo uruvelaṃ gantvā....tattheva vāsaṃ upagantvā mahāpadhānaṃ padahi. Te Koṇḍaññapamukhā pañca pabbajitā gāmanigamarājadhānīsu bhikkhāya carantā tattha Bodhisattaṃ saṃpāpuniṃsu.* Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., pp. 12-13.

78. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 237—*prahānaṃ ca duṣkaraṃ durabhisaṃbhaṇaṃ.*—

79. *Mahāvastu*, II. pp. 238-39—*nāhaṃ puṇyārthiko ihā gataḥ.*

80. *Mahāvastu*, II. pp. 300-01—*Bodhisattvo yena Nairañjanā tenopasaṅkramitvā muhūrtaṃ asthāsi. Samehi pādatalehi dharaṇim prakaṃpesi. Atha khalu tasmim samaye mahāntaḥ pṛthivīcālo abhūṣi bhīṣano saromaharṣaṇo, yena pṛthivīcālena iyaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasrā lokadhātu samāṃ abhuṣi....mahāsamudrāsca saṃkṣubdha abhūṣi.....*

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Buddha preaching dharma. Bimbisāra and his chief brahmin priest.

The Buddha preached along the bank of the Nerañjarā the norm (*dharma*) whereby all might be saved from suffering.[81] The chief brahmin priest of the Magadhan king Bimbisāra used to repeat to him in detail the 32 signs of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇāni*) every morning. The king listened to his chief brahmin priest and felt to see the Buddha who was then at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nairañjanā.[82]

Buddha and Māra on the river bank.

On the bank of the river Nerañjarā[83] the Buddha exerted himself and engaged himself in meditation for obtaining *nibbāna* (perfect beatitude). Māra came and spoke to him thus, "You are lean and pale. Death is near you. It is better to live, by living you will be able to do meritorious deeds. Difficult is the way of exertion, difficult to pass and difficult to enter upon." Māra stood near the Buddha uttering these words. The Buddha said to him thus, 'You are a friend of the indolent, you are wicked. Why have you come to me ? I have faith and energy. There is wisdom in me. While the blood is drying up, the bile and the phlegm are dried up. While the flesh is wasting away, the mind becomes all the more full of faith; my recollection, wisdom and meditation become more firm. While I am thus living after having felt the extreme sensations, mind does not care for sensual pleasures. Look at the purity of a being. Lust (*kāma*) is your first army, discontent (*ārati*, Pali *arati*) second, hunger and thirst (*khutpipāsā*, Pali *Khuppipāsā*) third, craving (*triṣṇā*, Pali *taṇhā*) fourth, sloth and drowsiness (*sthānamiddhaṃ*, Pali *thīnamiddhaṃ*), fifth, cowardice (*bhīru*), sixth, doubt (*vicikitsa*, Pali *vicikicchā*) seventh, and hypocrisy and stupor (*mānārtho bhoti aṣṭamā*, Pali *makkho thambho*) eighth.[84] Oh Māra, I will crush with understanding your invincible army. I shall wander from realm to realm and train listeners with mindfulness well-established, and determination well-controlled. Those who are earnest and resolute

81. *Therīgāthā*, v. 306.
82. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 436-37.
83. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, PTS., p. 386.
84. Cf. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann Ed.), p. 262.

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in my instruction, shall go to the place where they will not mourn." Māra followed the Blessed One step by step for seven years and found no fault in him.[85] He came here to tempt the Buddha but being disappointed disappeared (*antaradhāyi*).[86] Māra again aproached the Buddha and said thus, "Formerly by the side of the Nerañjarā river after accomplishing your true and steadfast aim, you said that you would pass at once to *nirvāṇa* (perfect beatitude). Now you have done all what you have to do. You should pass to *nirvāṇa*.[87]

The Buddha, while he was at Uruvelā (meaning a great sand bank) under the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā, was again met by Māra who asked him to attain *parinirvāṇa*.[88] The Master replied that he would not pass away until the monks, nuns, male and female lay disciples would not become learned, wise, well-trained, correct in life and walk according to precepts.[89]

The Buddha further said that he would not attain *parinibbāṇa* (*parinirvāṇa*) until his pure religion should have become successful, prosperous, widespread and popular.[90]

Not performing austerity by which people are purified, one who is not pure, thinks himself to be so, and he is guilty of the path of purity. This was told by Māra the satan to the Buddha. The Buddha replied that virtue (*sīla*), meditation (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*) should be considered as the path for enlightenment. The Master obtained excellent purity and Māra was struck down.[91]

Māra, desirous of making the Exalted One feel dread and horror, turned himself into the likeness of a king elephant. The

85. Satta vassāni Bhagavantaṃ anubandham padāpadaṃ otāraṃ nādhigacchissaṃ Sambuddhassa satīmato (*Suttanipāta*, v. 446).

86. *Suttanipāta* vs. 425-49; Cf. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), 260-63; *Mahāvastu*, II, 238ff.—*kriśo tvamasi durbaṇṇo santikemaranaṃ tava.*

87. Beal, *Fo-sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, S.B.E., Vol. XIX, p. 267.

88. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202—parinirvātu Bhagavān parinirvāṇakālasamayaḥ sugatasya.

89. *Dīgha*, II, p. 112—*Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭipannā....*

90. *Dīgha*, II, 112ff.

91. *Samyutta*, I, p. 103.

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Blessed One knew him to be Māra the sinner and said thus, "The world is a long road taking good and bad forms. Enough of you, Oh sinner, you are struck down. Those who are well-restrained in body, speech and mind do not come under your influence; they are not your pupils." Māra disappeared.[92]

On another occasion Māra came to the Buddha on the bank of the Nerañjarā and said thus, "The root of suffering is an obstacle or hindrance. Not being sorrowful I meditate cutting off everything leading to the desire for existence; being free from sins I meditate being a friend of the indolent.[93]

Sakka willing to see the Buddha.

Sakka, the king of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation under the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā, sought the aid of heavenly musician named Pañcasikha who sang in praise of the Awakened One, the truth, the Arahant (elect) and the Love. The verses uttered by the heavenly musician were addressed to a lady named Bhaddā, the daughter of King Timbaru, by one who received no return for his love for her, as she was then in love with another named Sikhaddi, son of Mātali the charioteer.

The Buddha and Pañcasikha, the heavenly musician.

The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a double meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music, talked with the heavenly musician who informed him of the advent of Sakka.

Sakka's conversion to Buddhism.

Then Sakka came forward and paid homage to the Buddha. He put several questions to the Buddha and received satisfactory replies. He was then converted to the Buddhist faith.[94]

92. *Samyutta*, I, p. 104—*Saṃsāram dīghaṃ addhānaṃ, vaṇṇaṃ katvā subhāsubhaṃ alan te....pāpima, nihato tvaṃ asi antaka, ye ca kāyena vacāya manasā ca susaṃvutā, na te Māra vasānugā na te Marassa paccagū.*

93. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 122ff.—*chetvāna sabbaṃ balalobhajappaṃ anāsavo jāyāmi pamattabandhu.*

94. *Dīgha*, II, 267ff.

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Buddha's meditation at Uruvelā on the bank of the river.

While the Buddha was meditating alone at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā a thought arose in him which was as follows: 'Suffering lives in the man who does not show respect nor obeys." The Buddha addressed the monks saying that for the perfection of sum total of virtues still imperfect, for the perfection of the sum total of concentration still imperfect and for the perfection of the sum total of wisdom and emancipation still imperfect, he would dwell doing honour, obeying, reverencing, and paying respect to a recluse or brahmin but not in this world with devas, Māras and Brahmās. The Buddha said that it was his wish and proper for him that the *dhamma* (norm) well comprehended by him, should be honoured, revered, obeyed and served.[95]

Buddha preaching four things.

Here on the bank of the Nerañjarā the Buddha referred to four things necessary to become a thera (elder). They are as follows:—"A monk is virtuous, perfect in the obligations, restrained, perfect in the practice of right behaviour, seeing danger in faults. He is taught in precepts, learned, is replete with learning, is a hoard of learning (*sannicaya*). The doctrines which are good at the beginning, in the middle and at the end, both in the meaning and letter of them, which preach utterly complete and pure holy life; such doctrines are much heard, borne in mind, repeated aloud, pondered over, and well penetrated by vision. The four stages of meditation (*catunnaṃ jhānānam*) which are of the clear consciousness, and which are concerned with the happy life in this very world, these he wins easily. By the destruction of sins (*āsavas*) he himself realises the emancipation of mind and wisdom in this world, being free from sins.[96]

The Buddha and Brahmā Sahampati

Brahmā persuaded the Buddha while he was here to preach the Norm. After reaching perfect enlightenment the Buddha did not wish to preach the norm for others might not acknowledge

95. *Aṅguttara*, II, pp. 20-21.

96. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 22-23....*āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavam cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭheva dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati.*

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him. Out of compassion for the worldly beings Brahmā Sahampati entreated the Buddha to preach the norm (*dhamma*) by following which people might not suffer from worldly sorrows. After much deliberation the Buddha acceded to his request.[97] Here arose in the mind of the Exalted Buddha the four stations of mindfulness while he was meditating in solitude. Brahmā Sahampati, reading with his mind the mind of the Buddha, appeared before him and said "The only way leading to the purification of beings lies in the four stations of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*)."[98] Here also arose in his mind the thought of five controlling faculties of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), recollection (*sati*), meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*), while he was meditating in solitude. The Buddha had this thought also in his mind that these five controlling faculties, if cultivated, would ultimately lead to immortality.[99] Brahmā Sahampati reading with his mind this thought of the Blessed One appeared before him and said, "the five controlling faculties, if cultivated, would lead to immortality."[100]

The Buddha experienced bliss of release on the bank of the river.

Once the Master sat on the bank of the Nerañjarā for seven days in one posture and experienced the bliss of release (*vimuttisukhaṃ paṭisamvedi*). After the lapse of seven days he aroused himself from the concentration of mind during the first watch of the night, and gave close attention to causal uprising in direct order. He explained what led to destruction of the mass of ill.[101]

Buddha and a brahmin.

A certain brahmin of a carping nature (*huhuṅkajātiko*) came to the Master on the bank of the Nerañjarā and greeted him courteously. The Exalted One when asked said thus, "A brahmin, who is free from all evil things (*bāhitapāpadhammo*), who has no stain, who has controlled himself, who is versed in the *Vedas*

97. *Samyutta*, I, pp. 136ff.
98. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 167-68; 185-86—meditation on the impurity of the body, on the evils of the sensations, on the evanescence of thought and on the conditions of existence.
99. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 232-33.
100. ....*amatogadhāni honti amataparāyanāni amatapariyosānāni.*
101. *Udāna*, PTS., pp. 1-3.

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(*vedantagu*), who leads a happy life and who has faith in Brahmā, has no passion, hatred, delusion and false view".[102]

Buddha and the serpent king Mucalinda.

The Buddha stayed at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā at the foot of the Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*). At that time appeared a great black cloud out of season. Rainy weather, cold winds, and overcast skies did not annoy the Blessed One, as his body was encircled by the serpent king, Mucalinda, with his coils, and the serpent king stood placing his great hood over the Master's head.[103] Then Mucalinda seeing that the sky was clear and free from clouds, unwrapped his folds from the Exalted One's body.[104]

Buddha looking at the sufferings of worldly beings.

Here on the bank of the Nerañjarā the Buddha looked over the world with the Buddha-eye and saw how beings were being tortured by diverse torments and how they were burning with diverse burnings with the fires of passion, hatred and delusion.[105]

102. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., p. 3.
103. *Jātaka*, I, p. 80; *Buddhacarita*. XV, v. 52—*rarakṣa nāgarājo'sau phaṇāveṣṭitavigrahaṃ; Lalitavistara*, Ch. 24, p. 379; *Vinaya*, I, p. 3; *Dāthāvaṃsa*, Ch. I, v. 56.
104. *Udāna*, p. 10; Cf. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*. PTS., p. 3.
105. *Udāna*, PTS., p. 32....*Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ vilokesi.*

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The Development of the Music of Mithila[1]

BY

SHRI VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A.,

Assistant Superintendent, Department of Archaeology

Mithilā seems to have had no special 'Maithila-deśī-rāgas' till we get a reference in Nānyadeva's (1097-1133 A.D.) monumental work called *Saraswatīhridayālamkārahāra.*[2] It is a very extensive commentary on the Vācikāmśa of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, written after the conquest of Mithilā[3] by Nānyadeva. He does not even hint at the existence of any maithiladeśī-rāgas, though he refers to 'Karṇāṭa-bhāshā-deśīrāga' and other rāgas. Nānyadeva and his 'Karṇāṭabhāshāviduh' — musician followers gave tremendous impetus to music in Mithilā and probably encouraged the use of 'bhāshā' or vernacular of the land in music. Only some two hundred years later, at the court of Maharaja Harisimhdeva (1296-1323/4 A.D.) a music centre was founded at Mithilā.[4] Nānyadeva quotes from Mātaṅga Viśākha, Dakṣaprajāpati (praised by Yājñavalkya) and Yaśṭika who reconciled the *mārgas* (classical) with the "deśī" (popular) rāgas. He is best on saptagītis and dhruvas. He has treated about 160 rāgas in detail. His somefold rāgas were based upon Abhinavagupta who defines yāti as a source of rāgas, viz. Śuddha, bhīma, gauḍa, sādhāraṇabhāshā and vibhāshā. In these first five are the divisions adopted by Durgā school while Yaśṭika has only three bhāshā, Vibhāshā and Antarbhāshā. Kohala treats all rāgas as bhāshās. The terminology was abandoned by the 16th century and a new muemoic scale was introduced to simplify the older system. There are also details of the operations

1. I am grateful to my brother Dr. J. K. Mishra, D. Phil., Professor of English, University of Allahabad, for allowing me to use his book '*History of Maithili Literature*' here and there in this paper.

2. Journal of *Andhra Hitsorical Research Society,* Vol. I, Pt. 2. pp. 55-63. the Ms. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and a copy of it is in the University Library, Allahabad.

3. Cf. His use of the epithets '*Maithilendra*'. '*Mithileśvareṇa*' etc.

4. See '*Gītavidyā Kathā* in Vidyāpati's *Purushaparikshā.*

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behind the stage to regularise the action, entrance, exit etc. on the stage. The deśī-rāgas, he describes, are generally referred to Karṇāṭadeśa, and are:

Kaiśika, Śuddhashāḍava, Panchama, Abhīrikā, Dakṣiṇānyām, Saurashṭrī, Gurjarī, Bangālī, Saindhavī, Varuṇāhu (or Vaṇāvahu?), Kauśakī, Bhinnakaiśika, Gauṇakeśavarūpakam, Gāndhārī-dhaivatī (Prankhaka), Mālava-Panchama, Shāḍava, Gāhidola, Mālavesarī, Gauḍī, Kāmbolā, Chhedārikā (or Chhevāḍī), Mālava-kaiśika, Mālavesarī, Mālava (or Madhurakhā), Tārabhandrā, Nyāsām (śa) graha, Shaḍganyā Bagrahāśaka (atha sādhāraṇagīti-rāgāh) = Gāndhārikā, Gāndhārapanchamah, Hāsakah (Hāsa-punah), Kandādi (or Kandarpa? 7 varieties?), Nartarāga, Pancha-mashāḍava, Kubhakaiśika, Shaḍgkaiśika, Prasava, Nadanā-(nī) rāyaṇa, Rūpakālāpasampada, Āmrapanchama, Deśākhya, Mandratākhya (?) ranjikā, Arīti, Tāḍikā, Prathamamanjarikā Mallāri, Tusthikā (Tuchhikā?), Bhogavarddhinī, Stambhapatrikā, Kālandī, Bham (am?) nthalī (?) (*iti bhāshā prakaraṇam.*), = Bhinnavalitā, Kiraṇāvalī, Vaśavalita (or Sakavalita?), Devakriti, Trinetrakriti, Svabhāvakriti, Dhvanikriti (or Dhanyakriti?) =

(Among Gāndhāra Grāmarāgas) — Kosalā, Rudrahāsah, Gandharvāmodatah, Vīrahāsah, Jimutarāga, Vāghashāḍava, Pijarī, Chanda, Gāndhārashāḍava, Tumburupriyah, Shārada, Vega (da)-madhyama, Gāndhāralalitā, Drāviḍī, Sardulī, Dhatrāstrī (Dhanāsī?), Sindhuvalitā (kā?), (Note =) Manjarī Chūtamanjarī (?), Himakriti, Svabhāvakriti (from the 7th Adhyāya).

The joining of vritta (chhanda metre) with rāgas is not peculiar to Locana only, Nānyadeva also has it: e.g. '*Vaitālī Chhandasamyuktā tathā pālalikāpatā prācyavrittistapādicya vrittirvaucāruhāsinī aparāntikatribhedāvaitāliyaka nāthah. Atra vritte prayajñvyam ca tu vadanagīta rūkharīdipanchakai = yatravat = ||*' or '*etāni deśimataśītakāni athokta vrittaivāyatāla ogāt vritte matālena vā.*'

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* is not probably Maithila work, but it had great influence on Maithila music and therefore cannot be unnoticed. Jayadeva assigned a definite Rāga and a definite Tāla to each of his twenty-four songs or prabandhas. His rāgas were:

Mālava, Gurjarī, Vasanta, Rāmkarī, Mālavagauḍa, Karṇāta, Deśākhya, Daśadivarāḍī, Gauḍakarī, Bhairavī and Vibhāsa.

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"But can any one of the modern singers either in North or South India sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Rāga and Thāla assigned by him? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."[5] Kumbha of Mewar, a musical authority says, besides, that the music of Jayadeva in the original was "bad" and he was forced to improve it — this was as early as the 14th century. Whether intelligible today or not, Jayadeva's tunes were perfect and inspire Maithilas, among others, with a new kind of musical poetry. There were numerous Maithila commentators and imitators, the greatest of whom was Vidyāpati.

We next hear of musical activity in the reign of Harisimhadeva (1226-1323/4 A.D.). He was himself a great expert of music and in the Nrityavidyā Kathā of *Purushaparikṣā,* a Maithila musician says that either Hara or Hari-simhadeva alone could judge his worth. His court had such expert musicians as Jyotirēśvara,[6] who gives a very elaborate description of musical activities in 14th century Mithilā. In the 6th Kallola of his work *'Varṇaratnākara'* he gives "an elaborate description of a Bhāṭa or court bard, panegyrist and genealogist as well as emissary of kings. He was a high dignitary, and his costly dress was in keeping with his status. He was a scholar too, and a list is given of the works on Sanskrit and Prākrit Grammar, rhetoric and prosody that he had to study, together with the languages (Prakritic) that he must know. His mental qualities are stated; and the kingly state in which he travels is described .... The Vidvāvauta, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a kalāvanta or kalawat at the present day, is described, and his date and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more exalted Bhāṭa. In this connection the names of the rāgas, of the Śrutis as well as the seven kinds of *gāyanadosha* or defects of singers and the 14 kinds of *gītadosha* or defects in singing, are mentioned."[7]

5. Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 849.

6. He describes hmself in his *Dhurtasamāgama nāṭaka* and *panchasāmaka* as versed in the art of music.

7. Dr. S. K. Chatterji: Introduction to *Varṇaratnākara,* p. XXIX-XXX. *Vidañyota āsthāna vaisu. Anantara kaisana bhau. Tāra ghora madra*

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More interesting than these is the description of dancing, and there are three sections describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing, viz., *Nrityavarṇā Pātranrityavarṇā* and *Preraṇanrityavarṇā*. The ten qualifications of the drum player (*muraji*) are mentioned, also the ten kinds of drummen (*murajavādya*) made blocks or in it, the time beats (*tāla*) the ten rasas, the thirty *vyabhachārībhāvas*. The Pātra is a dancing girl, who is well practised in thirty-two kinds of *chārī* (merits) and thirty-two kinds of *kulaka* (graces). The Preraṇā is a male dancer. The various kinds of dance, they execute are described. Finally, there is a list of twenty-seven kinds of *Vīṇās*.

After the flight of Harisimhadeva to Nepal, the centre of music also shifted. The next few centuries saw great development of music by Maithilas in Nepal.[8] The first writer, about whom we know, is 'Singha Bhūpāla'.[9] Bhūpāla may be identified

tiniha suratānti milita sārīva vaiṇava duha nādae karuaha. Yantraka gayana palauṭau ṭīpasāriṇī. Kataravāṭa. Anga virāṭa. Sukalā, sarāghāta. Samsthāpana pra bhriti yantraka gaena palanirvāhi sūrala pusau. Tadanantara Kasmīraka tāla dui hātha karu. Gatraka gaena pana upakramu. Aka. Śuddha sālanga, Sīkīrṇa trividha vāna chāri ha/ḷu. Ya (sha) ḍja. Madhyama, Gāndhāra, Nishāda, Rishabha, Vai (dhai) vata, Panchama, Sātaha svare samyukta. Hāthī vohi samchāriti. Nirga (ma?) sthānake samyukta. Līlakampita. Sphurita. Tribhinna. Tiripa. Hātha ta. Āndolita satao ye gamaka ten sampurṇa. Shātaji. Arasutī. Kolakī. Gāndhārī. Vajja. Madhyāraktagāndhārī. Gāndhā rodichyyā Madhyamā. Madhyamodichyā. (58K) Gāndhārapanchamī prabhritiashṭadaśao ye jāti ten alamkrita. Nādī chālaviraga. Vasā. Samukhīchitrā. Vichitrā. Ghanā mātangī. Sarasā. Madhukarī. Amrittā Mādhavī. Śivā. Śāngakhī Viśa/lā./Mālā, Ālāyā. Kalā Kalakhā, Mātrū./
Vāvisao ye śruti ten sampūrṇa. Lalitā Madhyā. Vichitratā. Pohiṇī. Sauvīrī Khajja. Madhyā. Matsyarī. Śuddhamadhyā. Śuddhāntā. Kalāvatī Tivrā. Raudrī. Nādavatī viśāta Vaishaṇvī. Shecharī. Surā ekavisao je murchhanā ten alamkrita Chhavi opakalākānti Anujāya. Uchita. Anākalita. Oja. Manjāraṇa. Ojā ra chhaḍala. Patana. Ghatanā. Dīdha achumbuita. vakāti. Kalāśra. Laola. Karaṭī Ālati Konita je geyaddharmma ten samyukta. Tela. Tāla. Sara. Pāta. Viruddha. Pada Chhao je lunga ten a/lankita. Vitāna. Kapila. Kākī. Śitakārī Sānunāsika. Avyavastha. Prasārī. Sātao ye Gāyana ten parityktа. Kampita. Bhītaavyakta. Anunāsika. Śirogata Kākarava.

8. 'Sinha Bhūpāla' Singh p. 107. Aufrecht Vol. I, p. 415 and p. 686. The work has been translated now into English by the Adyar Library. Adyar.

9. Cf. Introduction to *Rājanītiratnākara* by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 24 f.n. 2. 'The Maithila tradition ignores him except for what we may infer from the Panji verse.'

Śāstā nānyapatirbabhūva tadanu Śriśāngadevanripastatsunurnarasimhadevanripati Śrirāmasingha Bhūpālavandyastatah yatra Śriharisimhaedva....

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with Bhūpāla Simha, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Nepal as having been a Maithila ruler after Śakti (Śakra) Singh and Harisimha. 'He was a contemporary of King Pratap Rudra of the 14th century. His *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*[10] is a short treatise on poetics. Mallinatha invariably quotes from his work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the *Sangīta-ratnākara-Vyakhyā,* a treatise on music.[11] The next reference we have is of Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara Damayanti. He is the famous Maithila Commentator on *Mālatī-Mādhava* and other plays. His date is certain; a Manuscript of a commentary on Subandhu's Vāsavadattā by Jagaddhara himself has been found as dated in La. Sam. 355, i.e., C. 1474-5 A.D.[12] He wrote *Sangītasarvasva* which is quoted profusely himself by his commentator on the *Veṇīsamhāra* and by Ruchipati Upadhyaya and Raghavabhatta.[13]

The rulers of Nepal were great scholars and patrons of music and Jagajjyotirmalla (C. 1617-33 A.D.) was himself a great musician. He composed in N.S. 746 *Sangītasārasamgraha*—an abstract of all the work on music, dancing and acting known at his time. He further brought Abhilāshā's work on music *Sangīta-chandra*[14] into Nepal for Southern India and he with the assistance of Vanśamaṇi Jha wrote a commentary on it entitled *Sangīta-bhāshkara.*[15] The last work is interspersed with vernacular (Maithilī?) translation of important passages by the Royal author. Among his other works are *Svarodayadīpikā, Gītapañchaśikā* and *Sangītabhāshkara* (?).

His son and grandson were interested in fine arts (especially poetry) and at the instance of his daughter's son Ananta, one Ghanśyāma wrote a commentary on *Hastamuktāvalī,* a work on dancing.[16]

10. Krishnamachari: *History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 85 3 f.n. 1.
11. *JBORS.* Vol. XIV p. 2; Nepal Cat. p. 15 No. 447.
12. Krishnamachari p. 863.
13. Nepal Cat. p. 263. No. 1478.
14. Nepal Cat. p. 262 No. (2) 222.
15. Nepal Cat. p. 262, No. (2) 222.
16. Krishnamachariar p. 869. For all this account he refers to the Introduction to *Nīrgarsarvasya* ed. by Shri Tanusukharāmśarma.

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We have now come to one of the most important works in the Mithilā school of music, Śubhankara Kavi's famous work *Śri-Hastamuktāvali.*[17] Works on dramaturgy have been very few in Mithilā, hence it is a unique treatise. It is a hand-book of the motions of hand in dancing. It is based on one of the chapters on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra,* supplemented by *Kāmaśāstra,* the work is explained by a commentary by Ghanśyāma dated 1675 A.D. *Hastamuktāvalī suvarandonritikā.*[18] It is fairly comprehensive. It deals at 212 varieties of band poses. Śubhankara has been wrongly identified by Mr. B. K. Barua.[19] His identity has been given with some Assamese, who lived with one kavi Chakravartī. He was a Maithila and yet there are doubts expressed about the authenticity of his dates, even ignored by the author of the other theory. It is true that the work was very popular and it was more commonly used in Assam—there it was translated into vernacular. It is probable that the large number of Assamese words not current in Assamese may be Maithili words. The translation is very early,[20] and knowing the contact with Assamese life and literature.

Śubhankara was the son of Maharaja Maheśa Thakkura and was known as Śubhankara Kavi,[21] who ruled over Mithilā during 1584-1619 A.D.[22]

Śubhankara is also reputed to be the author of *Saṅgītadāmodara*[23] in seven chapters. The treatment of music and dancing in

17. Nepal Cat. pp. 270 and 272, printed with translation in English in the *Journal of Kamrupa Anusamdhāna Samiti* Vol. VIII New Series 1941, No. 2, p. 62 ff. *MMC* II, p. 170 wrongly described as a manual of āchāras but nearer the original MS.

18. Nepal MS.

19. *JARS.* Vol. VIII p. 71 N. S. No. 3, Mithila Notices.

20. *Journal of Kam. Anu. Samiti* Vol. VIII N. S. No. 3 p. 71-6.

21. Ramadāsa-*Ānandavijaya* (Raj Press Edition).

'Kavitva karmasudhāsamudrah Śubhankarah.' p. 7 and note that he calls himself *Śubhankarakavih* in all Mss. of *Śripātrapungakavih.* verses 113 and 115.

22. Vide *Bakshī-Mithila Bhāshāmaya Itihāsa.*

23. Krishnamachariar p. 865, Mitra notices, p. 219, a fragment in Oriental Ms. Library, Madras and the work is very popular in Mithila and Locana quotes from it. The author's name is given in *Sangītanārayaṇa* III. Sangitadāmodarabhih kavih.

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their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in *Sangītanārāyaṇa* must be earlier than 17th Cen. A.D. It is curious that one of the Manuscripts mentions the śloka very much similar to the one at the end of *Hasta-Muktāvalī*—a proof of their being very identical persons.[24] I have noticed two more works on music by Śubhankara at the library of the late Hemarāja Śarma, Rājguru of Nepal. Locana and Rāmadāsa speak of him as one interested in poetry and arts.

The time and identity of Ghanśyāma is easy to determine. The name of a famous singer Ghanśyāma is given by Locana[25] (*circa* 1861 A.D.) and the manuscript of Ghanśyāma is dated as 1675 A.D. This shows likelihood of the two being identical.

This age was the golden age of Maithilā music. In Nepal and Mithilā proper, Maithila musicians and poets were popular. We know of one Śrī Manikara of *Sonriā* village in La. Sam. 388 (+1119/20 = 1507 A.D.) copying out *Varṇaratnākara*. From two MSS. and one Buddhana Miśra (fictitious ?) going to Bengal (in latter half of the 15th Cen. A.D.), like the Tīrabhukti musician in Vidyāpati's Nrityavidyā Kathā to Gorakṣapura (Gorakhpur ?),[26] and Śankaradeva carrying music and drama from Mithilā to

24.
Khyāto yah kavih chakravarti madato vidyābalairamchitah
Saubhadre yamimam ya arjuna yaśāh soajijanat śrīdharah
Tasya Śrilaśubhankarasya bhaṇite sangītadāmodareh
Śābhogah stavakah prapachitarasah śrimānayam panchamah.
The one from Assamese Edition (*JARS* VIII N. S. No. 3, p. 74).
('*Vikhyāta ityādi*' only Mithila Edition—MMC II p. 172).
Vikhyātah kavichakravarti padavīsangena sangītavit
Sadbham—rachanā nitānta chaturah sattarkalīlākarah
Śrimān esha śubhankaro vyarachayat Śrīhastamuktāmavalīm
Tatrāyam vyśamanmano haratah khyātah patākah karah.
Mitra Notice No. 389.

25.
Etasya vatateshu ghanaśyāmmāstu gāyakah . . . Sudiśagāyakāh Ghanśyāmasutatryah.
(P. 38 R.T.)—who were also had grown up in the lifetime of the father.

26. *Seka Śubhodayah* Chap. XIII (See also IV All India Oriental Conference Proceedings p. 517) by Halayuddha Miśra (should not be the famous Maithilā of this name ?) giving many popular legends of the day. The books have been printed now.

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Assam—these stray things show the fame of Mithilā as an important centre of music.

A very authentic account of the history of Mithilā school of music is given by Locana Śarma (*circa* 1681 A.D.) in his *Rāgatarangiṇī*.[27] He was respected as an authoritative musician in other parts of the country also.[28]—at Allahabad and possibly at Bundelkhand. He does not mention Śārangadeva, but he seems to have known a number of books on music—especially *Bharata Hanumat*, (Sangīta)—Damodara (of Śubhankara Thakkura) and Tumburu.[29] The controversy for particular time for particular Rāgas is touched upon by Locana and he gives orthodox ideas of timing from Tumburu nāṭaka and also the popular idea (arvāchīnāstu), Locana refers to another music work of a *Sangītasaṁgraha*.[30]

27. See below.

28. *Vishwa Bharati Quarterly* Nov.-Jan. 1943-44. K. Sen, pp. 251 ff. mentions MSS in Allahabad and as far as Bundelkhand.

29. Mr. Sen seems to regard *Tumburu Nāṭaka* as having been produced in the Eastern provinces, because there is mentioned in it of the festival of Durgā Pujā. There is also mention of invocation songs to be sung in the morning during the fortnight preceding the festival,

Indrotthānam samārabhya yāvaddurgā mahotsavam. Geyā tāvadudhainityam mālastrī śāmanodarā

(quoted in *Rāgatarangiṇī*, p. 131 Raj Press Edition Darbhanga) *Tumburu Nāṭaka* finds up the timing of different rāgas not according to Śastric injunction but according to the suitability of notes and tunes—

Yathākāle samārabdham gītam bhavati ranjakam. Atah svarastha nityādrogaapiniyamah kritah.

(p. 132 Raj Edition). Of course on festive occasions songs for morning, evening or night have to be selected in conformity with the occasion. At court functions too, it may depend mostly on the royal wish. Hence festivities and royal courts are exceptional cases where ordinary timing cannot hold good.

Rangabhumau nripājñayāyām kāladosho na vidyate.

(Rt. p. 132) *Tumburu Nāṭaka* also say that there is no end to Rāgas and an exhaustive list of Rāgas cannot be given because they change in course of time.

Deśabhāshā vibhedāscha rāga sansvana vidyate. Na rāgāṇām na tālā nāmaah kutrāpi vidyate. (p. 132 R.T. Raj Edition).

Yatkrita rāgasangīta samhāheanveshṭavyah. (p. 36. R.T.)

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Locana is respectful to Śubhankara (the musician) proving thereby that he was the author of the music works referred to above :—

Sunustasya Maheśathhakkarasya sudhāsamudralaharīsūkt ih kalānāyakau,
Vikhyātah kavitālatā hridigato hāro naroktomsakah.
Āsichahhāsita durjanah promudito nityamprasanneśvara,
ssatyārthena Śubhankarah kritimatāh nāmnādharādhīśvarah.

Indeed he is very much conscious of the facts that the kings of Mithila were patrons of music and that Maithilas had a distinct school of music. He refers to Mahinatha under whom he flourished, but he praises even more Narapati Thakkura, the heir apparent, the younger brother of the king, who was particularly expert in *Dhvani* (-),[31] as he is called *Dhunigānasindhu.*

He describes the primary rāgas (or musical modes of sound) as *Bhairava, Kauśika, Hinḍola, Deepaka, Śrīrāga,* and *Megharāga* according to Hanumanmatāḥ[32] (this indeed is Maithila *mata*); the wives of Bhairava as *Bangāla, Madhumādhavī Varadī Sendhavī, Bharavī;* the wives of *Kauśika* as *Todī, Khammāvatī, Gaurī, Kukumā* and *Gunakarī;* the wives of *Hinḍola* as *Velaola, Desarava, Rāmākarī Lalitā* and *Patamañjarī;* the wives of *Deepaka* as *Kēdāra, Kānari, Deśī, Kāmoda* and *Vihagarā;* the wives of Śrīrāga as *Basanta, Mālawa, Mālaśrī, Dhanaśrī* and *Asābharī;* the wives of *Megharāga* as *Malāri, Deśakārī, Bhūpālī* and *Tanka.*

The description of the origin of the Nādas, Swaras and Murchhanas follow. Then he divides *Gīta* into two kinds (a) instrumental and (b) vocal. He further divides them into '*nibaddha*' (controlled) and a-nibaddha' (uncontrolled) and defines them

31.
Tasyānujoapi nijavīradalodbhatānām.
Nyakkārakāri dhanurāyatapungkhakāṇḍah.
Chandrānano narapatiddhunigānasindhuh
āvirbabhūva guṇirājya gaṇaikabandhuh.

32. The importance of *Hanumanmatā* is clear if we see the following—
"Yashṭika reconciled the mārgas (classical) with *desī* (popular) rāgas (i.e. the older forms with the developments in various provinces in course of time). He taught Añjavenya in Kadalivana probably in the district of Tanjore, who then introduced a number of Deśī rāga with the modification of Śrutis (*J. Andhra Historical Society,* Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 57ff.).

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thus and refers for details to his work *Rājasangītasamgraha* (now lost?)

Nivaddhamanivaddhameha gītanvividhimuchyate
Anivaddham bhaveddītam varṇādi niyamairvinā,
Yadvāgamaka dhātvanga varṇādi niyamairvinā
Nivaddhmcha bhavedgītam tāla-māna-rasāmchitam,
Chhandogamaka dhātvanga varṇādi niyamai kritam
..... *eteshām prapanchastu matkrita sangīta samgraheanvesh-tavyah.*

They are further classified into *mārga* and *deśī* (classical and popular) music. The *mārgas* are sung by the Gandharvas, etc., and the *deśīs* by the particular provinces. First he describes the *deśis* (provincial popular) music and only at the end of the book touches the *mārgas*. Among the *deśī* music he calls his own country's (Mithila's) as very beautiful and hence they are shown in detail.[33]

He gives a legendary origin of the art in Mithilā, apparently he did not know the part of the Karṇāṭa kings in developing music in Mithila. He says that there was one Bhavabhuti (= yogi? or the famous Sanskrit poet who is sometimes identified with Maithila (?) Manḍana Miśra (?), who was born in the family of Brahmanas and was endowed with learning; he pleased the deity and was successful in creating Kāvya and the Purāṇas. Having studied his fame at the court, Sumati (by name), the son of Kāyastha, skilled in art became a Kathaka (lit. a narrator, a singer or minstrel). His grandson[34] Jayata was appointed by Maharaja Sivasimha (1413-16 A.D.) for the poet laureate Vidyapati.[35] These experts of music were able to determine numerous new types of melodies (rāgas). Jayata was the leading musician in the king's court, who could sing the *dhruvas* (padas). His son Vitrishṇā was as great in skill in the various arts and music as he was verily a Krishṇa among the musicians of the court.

33. *Deśyāmapi sudeśīyatvātprathamam mithilāpabhramśa bhāshaya Śrīvidyāpati kavinibaddhāstāstā maithilagīta gatayah pradarśyante.* p. 36.

34. cf. *Sumati sutodayajanmājayatah.*

35. Vidyapati himself seems to have been a great musician.

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Then followed Harihara Mallika, the Great, in singing tales, fables and songs. He had three sons Khaḍgarānia, Ghanaśyāma and Kallirāma. Of these Ghanśyāma (1675 A.D.)[36] was a musician. He had three sons, who were all good singers — Lachirāma, Rāghavarāma and Tīkārāma — they seem to have been contemporaries of Locana.

Locana then gives a detailed analysis of those Rāgas that became peculiarly Maithila by his day —

Śrimadvidyāpatikavayituh kāvyavarṇānuvaddhām,
stattataprāyanatha tadanugakhyātagītaihnnivardhāna
Rāgānebhyah kathamapi tathā vartulikritya dhīmān
Premā śrimannrapati rato Lochanastām llilekha.
Te cha
Bhekhyatha barāḍī cha kauśikah kasyachinmatah,
Deśākhah sukhadā rāmakarī cha lalitā tathā.
Kedāraschāpi kāmodah Śrirāgoathamadhustathā,
Mālavāschāśavarī malarī yadirekshaṇā.
Bhūpalī gurjarī chai va shatatrinśadrāga madhyagāh,
Tīrabhuktauh vijātīyāngatimāsādya samsthitāh
Tīrabhuktyanyadeśebhyastīrabhuktau vilakshaṇāh
Svaramedātparam nāmnā tene tennaiva viśrutā.

The last two lines are important. The names of many of the Rāgas are not different but their use in Mithila is different from other parts of the country. Locana says —

Bhedabudhyerthameteshām deśigīteshu kalpitaih.
Chhandobhih kriyate koapi niyamoyamamānakah. (*RT.* p. 39).

This means that for marking out the differences between the Rāgas, he has given metrical rules as well. He also gives rules for understanding the *gaṇas.*

He defines a Rāga as that which pleases the culture (not *pāśvara's*) and says that it is combined with *Tāla* and *Svara* (RT. p. 40) and by the use of the term Rāga, he understands as Jayadeva and *Sangīta Dāmodara* understands Rāganis also.

36. A commentary on *Hastamuktavalī* written by him was found in Nepal. He seems to have been at the court of Śubhankara Thakkura.

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It includes certain Muslim Rāgas, e.g., *Iman* (p. 5, 7, 19) and Firodasta (p. 49) in its Bombay and Poona recensions; these rāgas in particular were introduced during the time of Amir Khusroe (1295-1316 A.D.). It is just likely, as Dr. Subhadra Jha is wrong in pointing out that the portions of the work dealing with these Rāgas are not available at present in Mithila recension, which is incomplete.

It has been noticed that Locana does not refer to Śārangadeva. He is particular in pointing out that he considers both classical (*mārgas*) and popular (*deśī*) melodies in his *Sangītasamgraha* (which we have not been able to unearth as yet) and that the present work discusses the popular ones only and there too, he will first discuss the melodies in his own country:

Gītantu dvividham proktam yantragātra vibhedtah . . . Prateykametodapi dvividham nivaddhamanivaddhamcha . . . anivaddham bhavedgītam varṇādi niyamairvinā. yadvāgamaka dhātvanga varṇādiniyamairvinā. Nivaddhamcha bhavedgīṭam tālamāna rasāmchitam. Chhando gamaka dhātvanga varṇādi niyamaih kritam.

Gamakāh kampitādayah, dhāturnnādah, angāni, padāni, tena virudādīnitālāschachcha putamcha putādayah, mānantu prasiddham rasā śringārādayah, chhandānsi elā jhūba tālādīni eteshām prapanchastu matkrite 'Rāgasangītasamgrahe' anveshṭavyah tādriśamapi gītam dvividham 'Mārgadesi vibhedena gītantu dvividham matah' it Gukteh margastu gandhrvādih gītagatayah, deśyaścha tadrāgāśritāstattaddeśagītagatayah. Iha tu mārgā bhāvānnoda. Tāste agena kvachidudārttavyah. Deśāmapi su (sva?) deśiyatvātprathamam Mithilāpabhranśabhāshayā Śrividyāpati kavi nibaddhāsttāstā maithilagīta gatah pradarśyante (*RT. p.* 36-37).

This section is the fullest in the exact recension of the book.

Locana refers to large number of works such as *Hanumān* (p. 3), *Dāmodara* (p. 40), *Jayadeva*, author of *Gītagovinda* (p. 40), *Tumburu Nāṭaka* (p. 40).

The discussion on *svarasamjñā* and *samsthānasamjñā* is according to Mr. Sen an exhaustive study of the subject. The controversy for arranging particular tune to particular rāga was afoot at the time of Locana. He gives orthodox idea of time for *Tum-*

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buru Nāṭaka and the moderns. The *Tumburu Nāṭaka* is liberal in its views. It says that a language takes up numerous forms according to slight dialectal changes likewise rāgas too reveal prolean forms with slight change effected in course of time. One cannot give an exhaustive list of rāgas in his *Sangītadāmodara*.[37] Mr. Sen says that *Ṭumburu Nāṭaka* appears to have been produced in the Eastern provinces because there is mention in it of the festival of Durgā Pūjā. There is also reference of invocation songs to be sung in the morning during the fortnight preceding the festival. This *Ṭumburu Nāṭaka* fixes up tune not to Śāstric injunction but all to the suitability of noting tunes—*yathā kāvye.*

Thus considering all the divisions and sub-divisions the number of Maithila Rāgas are to be known according to Locana as 97, and so many are also the kinds of Maithila Gītas (songs).

He gives the mixture of Rāgas (Rāgasaṅgarā's) and indicates the modern and ancient views on the time suitable for singing the various Rāgas.

In the end he discusses the Janaka (original) and Janya (derivatives) rāgas (Nāyaka and Nāyikās). "It would appear, as if, he is referring to South Indian view. But Dravidian culture is inseparably mixed up with that of Bengal (*and mediaeval Mithila*). The Sen kings of Bengal (and the Simraon kings) originally hailed from the Carnatic. Hence there is nothing unusual in finding South Indian views in his book. (Indeed) the Kirtaniyā *tālas* of Bengal do not conform to those of Nothern India."[38]

"It is only because Locana was a native (of Mithila) . . . . that he quoted with so much care the Āgamana tunes sung in the Devī Paksa or the fortnight, during which the Durgā Pūjā festival is held.[39]

In the history of music Locana is the greatest landmark, and he defines well beyond doubt the Maithila school.

Vidyāpati's songs are preserved in three manuscripts (1) Śivanandana Thakkura, (2) Ramanatha Jha and (3) Nepal Mss.—

37. Vide Krishnamachariar's Index. Damodara was probably a Maithila, (cf. also one Damodara Upadhyaya Maithila etc.).
38. *Vishwabharati Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 251 & p. 254.
39. *Ibid* p. 255.

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which give the following rāgas: (i) (Śivanandan Thakkura)— *Mālava, Suhab, Gurjarī, Vasanta, Ahira,* (*Ahirānī?*), *Śrīrāga, Dhanachhi, Varālī, Kolāva* (*Kolāra?*), *Sāmarī, Kānala*(*ra*), *Lari*(*li*)*ta, Vibhāsa, Ābhogya, Manāri,* (*Manāvi? Malārī?*), *Malāra, Narita* (*Lalita*),*Sārangī.*

(ii) (Ramanatha Jha) *Bhūpālī, Kānarā, Kolāra, Mālava, Suhaba, Rāmakarī.*

(iii) (Nepal Mss.) — *Mālava, Dhanachhī, Asāvarī, Malārī, Sābharī* (?), *Mālavī, Ahirānī, Kedārā, Kolāra, Śāraṅgī, Gunjarī, Baralī* (*Barāḍī?*), *Lalita, Lalitā, Naṭa, Vibhāsa* and *Vasanta.*

(Dr. Subhadra Jha could not find[40] some rāgas current in Mithila such as *Varalī, Śāraṅgī.* But as we might see from referring to the preceeding account Varādī, Gunjarī (or Gurjari) and Sāraṅgī). This is second big music anthology and since songs are arranged according to Rāgas, may well be called after *Rāgatarangiṇī* — the next important music work which gives Vidyapati's Rāgas.

Maithili Literature in Assamese uses three Rāgas — the experts like Śankaradeva, Madhavadeva were great musicians of their time: —

(i) (Ankiā Nāṭ) — *Āsovarī* (*Āsāvarī*), *Ahira* (*Ahirānī?*), *Bevovara* (*Velāvalī?*), *Bhaṭiyā* or *Bhatiālī, Dhanśrī Kalyāna, Kāmoda, Kanada,* (*Kanara?*), Kānarā, *Gauri, Śrīgaurī* (*Suhab?*), *Śyāma, Baḍāri, Bajāyi* (?), *Mālava, Nāṭa Mallāra, Rāgaśrī* (Raga) Śripati.

(ii) (*Baragīta*) - *Asāvarī, Dhanaśrī, Gaurī Suhāyi* (*Suhabaa?, Vasanta, Śrī Bhūpāli, Ahira, Kalyāna, Payāra* and *Panchālī.*[41]

During the last phase of the Maithila music, we have Umāpati, Govindadāsa and Harṣanātha. Umāpati's rāgas are: *Nāṭaka* (*Naṭarāga?*), *Mālava, Vasanta, Asāvarī, Rājavijaya, Krodāva* (*Koḍāra?*), *Vibhāsa, Kedāra* and *Lalita.*

Govindasa's rāgas are - *Rāmakalī* (Rāmakarī), *Dhanāśrī, Sohanī, Bhūpali, Kāmada* (*Kamoda?*), *Sindhu* or *Gandhāra, Baraḍī,*

40. *Seeker,* April 1942, p. 29.
41. *Journal of Kamarupa Anusamdhana Samiti,* Vol. X, Pts. 3-4, p. 1ff.

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(*Sri*) Gandhara, Sohara, Vibhasa, *Dhanaśrī, Suhaha, Kedāra, Vihāga, Gurjarī Lalita, Paraja, Suhara* (*Sohara ? Suhaba*) *Deśa, Jayajayantī* (?) *Vasanta, Pilōō, Sohanī, Soratha, Dhanāśrī, Mallāra, Naṭa Bhairavī, Barahamāsā, Sindhuḍā, Dakṣiṇātyaśrīrāga, Pahāḍī, Bālādhanaśrī, Karuṇakāmoda, Paṭamanjarī, Śrīrāvakhakhemaṭā, Mallāra, Vilābala, Belāor, Nāṭikā, Kalyāṇa, Śaranga, Vasantaholī, Dhupadabhairava, Toḍi, Gaurī, Malasi* (*Malakrosa*), *Mayura, Kaharava, Imānkalyāṇa, Sankarabharaṇa, Bhatiyari, Kanhada* (*Kanda*), *Khemata.*

Harshanatha's Ragas are—*Imana, Vasanta, Kalyāṇa, Kandhāra* (*Kanāra ?*) *Sohanī, Paraja, Kālangaḍā* (*Kanaṇa*), *Māḷava, Jhajhorī, Jogiya, Deśa, Khambhaicha, Kedāra, Soratha, Kalyāṇa, Multanī, Lalita, Naṭa, Lādanī, Chumaona, Āratī.*

In modern times Chanda Jha repeatedly mentions in his *Rāmāyana* as—*Mithilāsangitānusāreṇa* or *Rāgataranginīmithilāsangitānusāreṇa.*

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Reviews

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR FELICITATION VOLUME, issued under the auspices of the Dr. S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume Committee. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Publishers and Book-sellers, Banaras, 1958, pp. XXXIII + 321.

This volume which is dedicated to Dr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, one of the foremost Indologists of our country contains thirty-one original papers bearing on Indology written by his friends, pupils and admirers from different countries of the world to felicitate him upon the completion of his seventy-fifth year. The services of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar to the cause of Indological and Sanskrit studies are too well known to need any detailed mention. He was largely responsible for the inception and subsequent growth of the All-India Oriental Conference. His name deserves to be remembered for the services he has rendered for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and the launching of the project of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* of which he has been the general Editor since 1943. But he is best known to the scholarly world through his prolific writings on Indological subjects. It was therefore really appropriate and good that the Belvalkar Felicitation Volume Committee with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as its Chairman decided to honour him with the presentation of the Felicitation Volume under review.

The thirty-one learned papers in the Volume are grouped under six sections, namely: (i) Vedic and Iranian Studies, (ii) Grammar and Linguistics, (iii) Classical Sanskrit literature, (iv) Pali and Prakrit studies, (v) Religion and Philosophy and (vi) Archaeology, History, Geography and Technical Sciences. In a short review like this it will not be possible to refer to all the papers which are all uniformly learned and informative; but mention may be made of a few:

Prof. H. W. Bailey of Cambridge shows in an article entitled 'Analecta Indoiranica' how some isolated words found in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda have widely attested equivalents in the Iranian texts. Prof. T. Burrow supplies in an article some

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lexicographical notes on a few Sanskrit words. Dr. M. A. Mehendale examines in a paper the relation between the Vedic *Akhkhala* and Pali *Akkula*. Prof. P. E. Dumonṭ explains in a note on the *Tittiriya-Samhitā* and the *Śatapata-Brāhmaṇa* the succession of ideas that led to the choice of the tortoise for performance of the rite prescribed in the *Agnicayana;* in a critical and exegetical study of the ritualistic sūtras Mr. C. G. Kashikar suggests corrections in certain parts of *Mānava-Srauta-Sūtra* and the *Kauśika-Sūtra*. Dr. Surya Kanta Misra discusses in a paper the meaning of the terms *Kīkaṭa, Phaliga, Paṇi* and *Śūdra*. Prof. P. Thieme discusses in a paper Nagoji Bhaṭṭa's "method of historical criticism".

Dr. Edgerton explains in a paper that the 'specifying' *ka* "is probably the only strictly new development in the use of the suffix *ka* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (and Pali) as compared with Sanskrit". Dr. George Morgenstierne lists in an article some Sanskritic words found in Khowar, the main language of Chitral. Dr. V. S. Agrawala interprets in a paper some difficult *Mahābhārata* passages. Dr. Ruben examines in a paper the different accounts of the Indra-Vṛtra fight contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Ludwi K. Strenbach analyses in a paper the stanzas borrowed in the *Hitopadeśa* from the *Dharmaśāstra* sources other than the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*. Dr. S. K. De gives in a paper a select bibliography for the textual study of Kālidāsa's *Meghdūta*. Professors K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and S. Ramachandra Rao show in a paper how Kālidāsa has succeeded in holding up Duṣyanta's mind as a model for the future generations of his countrymen to follow. P. K. Gode deals in an article with the history of the art of capping verses which is current in some parts of India. Dr. Maheshwar Neog gives in an article an account of Subhankara Kavi and his works on music and dance. Vittore Pisani discusses in a paper on the origin of Prākritism and *Pāli* as language designations and expresses the view that *Pāli bhāṣa* represents a Prākritism for the Sanskrit word *Pāribhāṣa*. Discussing the sexual change in Buddhist monks or nuns mentioned in Buddhist literature Prof. P. V. Bapat says "they mean change in the secondary sexual characteristics which include even the external genetalia". Dr. K. C. Varadachari explains in an article the mystic experiences of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammāḷvār. Dr. H. D. Sankalia describes in a paper a unique realistic paint-

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ing of a dog on a sherd from Nevasa and belonging to the Chalcolithic period. Dr. G. Yazdani shows in a paper that the Buddhist art of Ajaṇṭā exercised considerable influence on the art of the Middle Asiatic countries and China. In an informative paper Dr. B. C. Law identifies the famous Kurukṣetra of the *Mahābhārata* with Thanesvara and gives an account of it. Dr. A. S. Altekar discusses in an article "The riddle of the Vikrama era" and shows how it came to be so called only in later times. Dr. M. Rama Rao proves in a paper that numismatic and epigraphic evidence shows that the empire of Gautamiputra Śatakarṇi consisted of more or less the entire Dekkan and that it was not confined to the narrow limits of northern Maharashtra, Kathiawar, Gujarat and eastern Rajputana as is commonly supposed. Discussing the epoch of the Ganga era in a paper Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that it must have been founded about the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The Felicitation Volume on the whole is worthy of the scholar to whom it has been dedicated.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS OF BIHAR by Prof. Radha Krishna Chowdhary, Head of the Department of History, G. D. College, Begusarai (Bihar) with a Foreword by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Published by Smt. Shanti Devi, C/o R. K. Choudhary, P.O. Madhipura, Saharsa (Bihar), 1958, Price Rs. 10-50 nP.

Bihar is one of the States in India which is rich in inscriptions, the importance of which for a study of its early history can hardly be gainsaid. The inscriptions in the State range in date from the days of Asoka to the period of the Palas of Bengal, and belong to different dynasties which ruled over the area, besides a number of miscellaneous ones. These have been published in different volumes; but they are not easily available. Hence a handy volume containing the inscriptions, at least the more important ones among them, giving also references to the volumes in which they were originally published is a hard felt need; and that is supplied by the book under review. The selection of inscriptions has been done with great care and is representative of

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the different dynasties that had connection with Bihar. The Foreword by Dr. D. C. Sircar and the Introduction by the author add value to the publication. One very much wishes that at least the select inscriptions from every sizeable unit or area in India are published in this manner. That is bound to help very much the study of regional history in our country.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF NEPAL (C. 750-1480) (Serie Orientale Roma X) by Luciano Petech, Published by Institute Italiano Per Il Medio Ed. Estremo Oriente, Roma. 1958. pp. XI+238.

The history of Nepal is difficult of satisfactory reconstruction. It can be roughly divided into four periods: those relating to (1) Licchavi and their Successors (C.A.D. 400-750); (2) the Thakuri and early Mallas; (C. 750-1480); (3) the three Malla Kingdoms (C. 1480-1768) and (4) the Gorkha dynasty (from 1768). The main sources for a study of Nepal's history are inscriptions, *vamśāvali* (Chronicles containing genealogical lists of kings) and Chinese and Tibetan evidence. Some spade work has been done on the subject by a few scholars of whom particular mention must be made of S. Levi (*Le Nepal*, Vol. II), and C. Bendall (*J.A.S.B.* LXXII). Thus there was much scope for further original work on the history of the country. The present bok is the result of such work by Luciano Petech who collected fresh material on the subject in Nepal in 1956 and did additional research in Calcutta, Cambridge, London and Paris.

The book gives a fairly connected account and a revised chronology of the second period of the history of Nepal. It contains five chapters dealing respectively with the sources, chronology, the Thakuri dynasty, the Mallas and a general consideration of the social and administrative conditions in Nepal during the period. Nepal then used the Newari Samvat Era whose starting point was in S'801. The origin of the era is however obscure. The author thinks that the dates in the era were calculated according to the Bhāradvāja system (p. 22). There is a gap in the early history of the country after the Pasupati Nāth Inscription of Jayadeva and very little of its history is known till about A. D. 1000; and much

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of our knowledge of it is based on the evidence of the chronicles which are often contradictory. The beginning of the period of the Thakuri kings was marked by the appearance of the institution of *Dvairājya,* the system of joint rule by two kings. After the collapse of the rule of this dynasty about A.D. 1200, the Malla dynasty of which Arimalla was the first ruler, came to power. One of the most powerful of its rulers was Jayakṣamalla who expanded the kingdom of Nepal on all sides and conquered even Mithila and Gaya. He entrusted the guardianship of the national shrine of Pasupati Nath to the Bhaṭṭa Brahmans from South India. The beautiful temple of Dattātreya at Bhatgaon was built by him. But he weakened the kingdom by dividing it among his three sons, and thus gave rise to the kingdoms of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Banepa.

The main body of the book is followed by six appendices throwing further light on its main theme, genealogical tables and a useful index. This book published by the Institute Italiano per Il medio Ed Estremo Oriente under the presidentship of Giuseppe Tucci, which has a number of publications bearing on Indological subjects to its credit is a distinct contribution to a very little known, but important period, in the history of Nepal.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT (Being the story of Muslim struggle for the freedom of Hind Pakistan) 1707-1947—Vol. I (1707-1831). Prepared and published by the Board of Editors, 30, Karachi Housing Society, Karachi, 1957, pp. XIII, 630. Price Rs. 25/-.

Sponsored by Government, serious attempts are being made in India to bring out authentic accounts of freedom movements in the country leading ultimately to the attainment of her independence in 1947. And by now a few volumes have been published on the subject by some States. Similarly the Government of Pakistan constituted a Board of Editors in 1947 'to prepare an authentic History of the Freedom Movement of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent covering the period from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the establishment of Pakistan in 1947'. It was decided to write the history of the movement in four

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volumes, dealing chronologically with the periods 1707 to 1831, 1831 to 1905, 1906 to 1936 and 1937 to 1947. The Editorial Board is said to have been guided by two considerations: "the part played by the Muslims in the struggle for freedom, and the objectives which had motivated them were to be dealt with in detail, while the historical setting to complete the picture and maintain historical continuity was to be discussed only in outline' (viii). This is as it should be, and may be evidenced more and more in the other three volumes. But the present volume, being the first in the series, has probably to devote more space for an account of the main features of the political history of the country from the death of 'Alamgir in 1707. However, one does not know if the account should be commenced from such an early date, for if the freedom movement was directed against the English, they had not become a political power in the country till 1757, as, according to the authors themselves, it was only in that year that "the Company emerged definitely as a political and territorial power. The years between 1742 and 1757 were the period of this transition. The change was again brought about against their will". (p. 385)'.

The book is divided into twenty chapters of which the first fifteen are historical, and give a very readable and good outline history of the country from 1707 to 1831 under different heads. In the first chapter, which is introductory, a running account is given of the forces that brought about the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims which ultimately resulted in the coming into existence of Pakistan. The decline of the Mughal empire was the result of complex factors working over a long time. Though the weak personalities of the rulers during the period were to a large extent responsible for the decline of Muslim rule in Hind—Pakistan, the deteriorating standards and the unfavourable atmosphere contributed much to its ultimate end. We have been given a good insight into the part played by the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Nawab Wiziers of Oudh, Asaf Jah of Haiderabad, Shah Abdali, the Rohillas, the East India Company in Bengal, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in the history of this period. About the achievements of Sivaji, it is said, "By his daring and skilful leadership he had converted them (law-less elements of his country) into a compact mass of ardent followers attached to his person. His second contribution was the lowering of the morale of his victims,

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many of whom being repeatedly deprived by his men of the fruits of their labour, lost the values of honest life and joined his gang to earn a livelihood by plundering others", (p. 166) a view that can hardly be accepted as a fair estimate of him. But a fitting tribute is given to the work of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I when it is said that "when the Empire declined this Turanian statesman, a strong imperialist of the school of 'Alamgir, restored and re-established imperial authority in the Deccan by checking the rising tide of Maratha aggression. By his tact, courage, wisdom and beneficent administration, he put down anarchy and established law and order' (p. 234). The chapter on the administrative reforms of Tipu Sultan is one of the best in the book.

Chapters XVI to XX are devoted to an account of the way in which "a spiritual basis" was provided for the "building of a nation". The political disintegration during the period being "mostly the result of spiritual confusion", a religious system had to be worked out in which all but the extremists could agree; and that was done by Shah Waliullah (b. 1703) who by his prolific writings and academic work as also by all that he did for the foundation of a fresh school of thought wanted "to establish a socio-political structure on the lines and traditions of early Islam" (pp. 511 and 525). The period also saw the rise of a "political consciousness" among the Muslims of Bengal, and the religio-political movement known as Indian Wahabism and of which Sayyid Ahmed Shahid (b. 1786) was the founder.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN BIHAR, in three volumes, by Dr. K. K. Datta. Published by the Government of Bihar. Vol. I. July, 1957. Pages x and 670, illustrations: 33. Vol. II. July. 1957. Pages xii and 529, illustrations: 31. Vol. III. Jan. 1958. Pages x and 478, illustrations: 37. Price Rs. 20/- per volume; Rs. 50/- per set.

In the midst of World War II, a month after the 'Quit India' mass *satyagraha* was started, Mr. Amery complained in the House of Commons: 'The disturbance was particularly violent in Bihar, a vitally strategic area'. And Bihar has given India its first President after she became an independent Republic under a consti-

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tution framed by a Constituent Assembly whose deliberations were also guided by him as its chairman. Earlier, in the crisis of 1857, Bihar produced Kunwar Singh, one of the foremost leaders of the revolt, who has been recognized by English historians along with the Rani of Jhansi and the Maulvi of Fyzabad, as 'one of the most interesting and perhaps attractive personalities on the opposing side'. And Patna was the headquarters of the half religious, half political Wahabi movement from about 1825 to, say, 1868, and the treacherous arrest in 1857 (June) of the Wahabi leaders by Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, was an indelible blot on the character of British Indian administration. Again, it so happened that Champaran in Bihar provided the first considerable occasion in India for Mahātmā Gandhi to try out the effectiveness of the weapon of Satyagraha he had forged in his South African struggles. The Bihar Government have thus good reason to be proud of the contribution of their State to the cause of Freedom, and the three sumptuous volumes before us are meant to be a permanent record of the role of Bihar and Biharis in the great national movement. Fortunately for the early fruition of the government's plan, they had ready to hand a competent historian in Professor K. K. Datta of the Patna University, already well known for his scholarly work on modern Indian history and for the soundness of his method and sobriety of his outlook as a historian.

Dr. Datta states that when the Bihar government asked him to undertake the work, he sought and obtained permission 'to prepare this work as a student of history, according to the scientific methods of historical research'; for four years and more he 'dedicated', himself 'to this sacred task with the conscience of a student of history'. 'I must confess', he adds, 'that for me it has been the fulfilment of a mission, a great education too. I have tried to write the different chapters of this book in the background of what happened not only in other parts of India but in different countries of the world'. Readers of these volumes will readily recognize that Dr. Datta has done his best to produce a narrative as objective as it could be made at the present moment when events have not yet fallen into their proper perspective which can happen only with the lapse of time, when despite the best efforts all the evidence has not yet been gathered and assessed, and when many of the persons who were actors in the drama are still alive. They will not fail to notice the change in the character of writing as

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the narrative approaches the most recent stages of the Freedom Movement. The volumes start from 1857 and the first three or four chapters of the first volume are good sound history written from an Indian standpoint. It is a moot question whether the rising of 1857 should be included in a history of the Indian Freedom Movement; on the one side it is argued that there was nothing in common between the aims and character of the reactionary effort of 1857 to go back to a semi-feudal order and restore the Great Anarchy of the eighteenth century, and the modern nationalist Freedom Movement informed by the revolutionary ideals of a political and social democracy and its stress on the well-being of the common man; on the other hand it is felt by some that there is a common aim underlying all attempts to overthrow foreign rule, that India never reconciled herself to the rule of the Company or the Crown, and that all attempts to resist the spread of British rule or its establishment should in essence be taken to be of the same class as modern nationalism. The second view overlooks the large fact that for some decades at least a good part of the intelligentsia in India represented by the Indian National Congress and such leaders as Surendranath Banerjea, Pherozeshah Mehta, and G. K. Gokhale held that the advent of British rule in India was, with all its disadvantages, on the whole such a blessing for the country as to be regarded as part of a Divine Plan for the political salvation of India. It also puts under the same bracket Kaṭṭa Bomma, Tipu Sultan, Kunwar Singh and Mahātmā Gandhi. But these volumes have been prepared on the basis of the second view.

While the first volume which stops with 1928 reads on the whole more like a history especially in its first half, the remaining volumes on the periods 1928-1941, and 1942-1947 constitute more documentary prolegomena to the history of the time than history proper. The author has necessarily followed the method of choosing the most significant documents and presenting them *in extenso* with a minimum of connecting links and comments; sometimes even documents which make poor reading have been included as for instance the police report of Mahātmā Gandhi's speech at Buxar (pp. 225-6 of Vol. II). Mr. Datta occasionally gives expression to his own views in strong terms especially in dealing with the suppression of the 'quit India' demonstrations: In Darbhanga 'even women were at some places stripped of their

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ornaments and their honour was at stake at the hands of the soldiers, whose ruffianism would have put even devils to shame' (III, p. 119). In the Monghyr District when two military planes crashed and the villagers did away with the survivors and looted the arms and ammunition, 'the reprisal against them by the military was terrific... Men and women left their hearth and home and ran away to other places to escape dishonour and molestation at the hands of the troops, whose recklessness and brutality knew no bounds' (*ibid.*, p. 151). When the Government of India published the pamphlet '*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances*, 1942-43', Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he was not prepared to accept the Government version regarding the origin and responsibility of the August disturbances any more than that of the Congress, and that the only way of arriving at the truth was to subject the whole matter to investigation by an impartial commission or tribunal (*ibid.*, p. 296). Such a tribunal was never appointed, and there is legitimate room for doubt in the mind of the reader about the extent to which Dr. Datta's devotion to scientific methods has been affected by his avowed dedication to his sacred task.

There can, however, be no doubt about the inestimable value of the close-up views of many aspects of Bihar's effort offered by Dr. Datta in the course of these volumes. We get full lists of the names of all leading participants, and the pictures of many. There are helpful glossaries, full bibliographies, and the excellent Indexes. Only the first two volumes are replete with printing errors and the long errata lists are by no means exhaustive; the third volume is better and though it is not altogether free from mistakes, an errata list could be dispersed with in the case of this volume. Dr. Datta and the Bihar Government deserve to be congratulated on this authoritative record to the Freedom Movement in their State which will doubtless go far to aid the current task of writing the general history of the movement for all India.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE HISTORY OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS—by Dr. Baij Nath Puri, M.A., B.Litt (Oxon)., D. Phil (Oxon); Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

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The outcome of the author's thesis for his D.Phil. Degree of the University of Oxford, this book constitutes a systematic study of the Gurjaras, who played a prominent part in the history of India for some centuries. The Gurjara-Pratiharas, one of the royal clans of this stock, carved out a powerful empire and were thereby able to keep at bay the Muslim invaders for a time. The later disunion among the rival dynasties of the Gurjara-Pratiharas was greatly responsible for the collapse of the Hindu resistance to the foreign enemies.

Beginning from the dawn of this century, when Hoernle, Buhler and Vincent Smith, among others, associated the Gurjaras with the race of the Hunas, the origin of the Gurjaras and the determination of their nationality have persisted as controversial problems. Though some others also have recently argued in favour of an indigenous origin of the Gurjaras, Dr. Baij Nath Puri now clinches the issue and adduces evidence in support of their origin in the region of the Arbuda mountains. In all probability, the Gurjaras were a tribe representing people of different castes and were originally living in obscurity in Rajputana, from where they emigrated and established themselves at different places, which subsequently came to be named after them (pp. 6-7).

The gradual rise of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the growth of their empire are treated at length in three chapters. The zenith of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire was attained during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., when Bhoja who ascended the throne about 836 A.D. and his son Mahendrapala who succeeded him about 890 A.D., were at the helm of affairs. Both of them were monarchs of remarkable ability, and through successful wars and an efficient organisation of the administrative system, they built up a strong edifice. Mahendrapala was not only a talented administrator but also an enthusiastic patron of literature. Rajasekhara, the great poet and dramatist was his *Guru* or spiritual preceptor.

After the reign of Mahendrapala the process of disintegration set in, and the empire became enfeebled on account of weak successors, disputed successions and above all on account of the steady growth of the adversaries. Ultitmately, the Gurjara-Pratihara empire was razed to the ground by the Turk invaders on the one hand and the Chandellas and their local allies on the other.

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The treatment of political history is followed by a study of the administration at the central, provincial and local levels. In addition, the economic, social and religious life of the time, and the progress of literature and education have all received the attention they deserve. The conclusions drawn from the sources are well balanced. Perhaps a critical investigation into the progress of art as exemplified by the numerous monuments which had arisen during the palmy days of the empire would have enhanced the value of the book. A map showing the extent of the empire and several useful Appendices are provided. In particular, those Appendices which furnish a list of the Pratihara inscriptions of Kanauj, a note on the Gurjara-Pratihara coinage and a list of the Gurjara-Pratihara monuments are valuable. The production of the book is, however, capable of considerable improvement. The exceedingly close printing of the matter and the niggardly margin provided are some of the defects which could have been avoided.

K. K. PILLAY

SIDE-LIGHTS ON AUCKLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY—by K. Sajun Lal, M.A., Osmania University (Hyderabad, Dn.).

Mr. K. Sajun Lal reproduces in this volume some of the News-letters which throw light on the much-disputed Afghan policy of Lord Auckland. Dr. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, Pepsu State, Patiala, who writes a foreword to the book, states that Mr. Sajun Lal has in his possession not only a vast collection of News-letters but also of old and printed newspapers. They deserve to be published for the benefit of students and scholars of history.

Not all the News-letters and extracts from old newspapers are bound to be of historical interest; nor are all of them quite reliable as sources of history. News-writers consciously or otherwise allow their personal predilections and prejudices to be reflected in their accounts. Deliberate omissions and wilful fabrications are not unknown among their letters. Despite these possible defects, News-letters constitute, more often than not, valuable corroborative sources, particularly by virtue of their contemporary character.

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In the book under review ten confidential News-letters of the year 1841 are reproduced, and they show how the Central Government was furnished with up-to-date information about affairs in and outside India by their respective Agents and Residents. These News-letters also contain extracts from the cotemporary English and Urdu newspapers. On the whole, they provide a detailed day-to-day information which throws light on the foreign policy of Lord Auckland in relation to Afghanistan, Qandahar, Iran, Kalat, the Punjab and Sind.

Mr. Sajun Lal writes an introduction in which an outline of the events which occurred in Afghanistan, Herat, the Punjab, Nepal and Kelat during 1841 is furnished in order to help the proper understanding of the contents of the News-letters. But, in addition, a brief note or key to each one of the News-letters could have been given with advantage. A select Bibliography, a glossary of Indian words and expressions and an Index are provided.

K. K. PILLAY

THE INDIAN REVOLT OF 1942: By Amba Prasad, M.A., A.M. (Stanford), Ph.D., Reader in History, Delhi University.

This small book on the Indian Revolt of 1942 is the author's dissertation for his Master's Degree of the Stanford University, U. S. A. The author himself is aware that his sources of information are incomplete. He admits that "the available materials are too scanty to enable a complete picture to be presented." The Despatches of the Government of India and the Secret Correspondence should obviously throw a flood of light on the events and personalities connected with the rising. The Board which was appointed by the Government of India to write the 'History of the Freedom Movement' had collected valuable material on the revolt of 1942 as well; but, at present, this vast mine of information lies somewhere in the National Archives and is not available for research scholars. Consequently, the author has based his account on the other available sources like the Parliamentary Debates and Parliamentary Papers, Periodicals, Magazines, Newspaper reports and a number of secondary works.

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Examining the underlying causes of the unrest in India, he shows how the basic factor was that the British Government, wedded to the principles of gradualness, was reluctant to concede Dominion Status in 1935 or even in 1942. The outbreak of the Second World War and its consequences on India, the episode of the Cripps Mission and the 'Quit India' revolt organized by Gandhiji are traced in succession. The course of the revolt, the arrest of the leaders, the development of the rising into a student-peasant revolt and its ultimate suppression are all treated at some length. The Moslem League was critical of the attitude adopted by both the Congress and the Government of India. Other minorities, too, like the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis were generally opposed to the movement. But, unfortunately, there appeared a reaction in England and the U. S. A. against the British policy, and despite the immediate failure of the revolt, there is little doubt that it paved the way for the ultimate transfer of power from the British hands. Though the author has attempted to present a lucid and impartial account of the rising and a balanced estimate of its causes and results, the incompleteness of the source material used, remains a standing weakness of the work.

K. K. PILLAY.

DUTCH-ASIATIC TRADE 1620-1740: By Kristof Glamann.

This is a factual study of the Dutch East India Company's trade with the Asiatic countries between 1620 and 1740, the period which saw the heyday of that commercial relationship. The account is based on the vast material available in the archives of the Western countries, particularly in those of Holland. Though the Dutch East India Company's activities had been studied from various points of view like the political, financial, naval, military, colonial and religious, its commercial history had not been systematically investigated so far. It need hardly be emphasized that commerce was the backbone of the Company; dividends constituted always the real aim of its activities.

The original constitution of the Company was embodied in the Charter adopted by the States General in 1602. According to it the central management was entrusted to the Court of Directors, which worked with the co-operation of a number of local com-

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mittees. Stock holders were at times dissatisfied with the policy of the Company. This led, among other things, to the appointment of several subsidiary committees which attended to different branches of administration. Thus, four departments came to be distinguished: one for receipts, a second for equipment of ships, a third for accountancy and a fourth for commerce.

It is notable that unlike in the case of the English East India Company, 'interloping' did not play any appreciable part in the Netherlands for a considerable time. What commodities were carried to the Netherlands behind the back of the Company were smuggled in besides the regular cargoes in the very ships of the Company themselves. But during the second decade of the 18th century, interloping developed from Ostend in the Austrian Netherlands. However, thanks to the conjoint efforts of the Dutch, English and French, the Ostend Company was contrived to be suspended in 1727. Excepting for this interlude, practically the Company enjoyed commercial monopoly.

The book contains a comprehensive account of the articles of trade, the conditions of purchase and sale, the periodic fluctuations in the volume of trade and the results of competition in the field from other European Companies. This competition often led to wars, diplomatic negotiations and to certain administrative difficulties. But the earnest endeavours of the Company's officials helped them tide over the crises. It was sometimes thought by outsiders that the Dutch Company was "an ever-green pagoda tree whose golden fruits the Court of Directors had a monopoly of shaking into its turban at suitable intervals, from which it was only prevented by fraudulent, lazy and incompetent officials". But this is hardly a true picture of the actual position. In fact the difficulties were often formidable, and the Company's officials had to strain every nerve for promoting the commercial interests.

The book is the product of patient study and a careful utilisation of all the available source materials. The account constitutes a distinct contribution to knowledge, although the fact that the present work is a translation from the Dutch into English is frequently noticeable. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to Appendices which furnish statistical and other details relating to the trade. The main manuscript sources as well as the secondary

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authorities used in the preparation of the book are indicated. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY.

HISTORY OF BIHAR: By Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 12-50.

The author of this book seeks to provide a connected account of Bihar's history from early times to the present day. Bihar has had a chequered history. At times, she rose to great prominence as the home of new religions like Jainism and Buddhism, and as the seat of mighty empires like those of the Mauryas and Guptas, while at other times she fell under the sway of foreign invaders and languished in misery. Nevertheless, the history of Bihar has presented certain interesting features. Bihar was the meeting place of Aryan and non-Aryan and later of the Hindu and Muslim civilisations. The social history of Bihar shows the result of mutual assimilation. Costumes, language, manners and customs of life, all bear the imprint of this compromise. Moreover, as Sister Nivedita has stated: "It has doubtless been this close contiguity of highly diversified elements within her boundaries that has so often made Bihar the birth-place of towering political geniuses."

In the pre-historic age, Bihar, and particularly Magadha was a centre of pre-Aryan civilisation. While adequate evidence is lacking for connecting the ancient Magadhan civilisation with that of the Indus valley, the discovery of terracota figurines in the region indicates that it was the stronghold of a pre-Aryan, probably of Munda civilization. The Aryanization of Bihar, at any rate, of a large part of it, was a very slow process.

In respect of the early history of the region the author of the book has relied far too much on the myths and legends embodied in the Epics and Puranas. It is, however, undeniable that Magadha emerged as a powerful state in the 6th century B.C. The rise of the Saisunagas, Nandas, Mauryas and later of the Guptas constitutes brilliant chapters in the history of Bihar. The fortunes of Bihar through the subsequent ages under the Palas and Senas, under the Afghans and Mughals and still later under the British are all traced stage after stage. The book is mainly, as the author

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himself states, 'a catalogue of political history'. But brief descriptions of the social, economic and cultural developments at different epochs are provided. The famous Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila have received the attention they richly deserve.

The history of the modern epoch deals with the Bengal renaissance, the struggle for national independence and the contributions made to social progress by certain outstanding sons of the soil, who are described as the makers of modern Bihar. The Appendices provide a chronology of kings, dynasties and governors who ruled Bihar, another chronological record of the principal events of history and a bibliography of books and journals. Some of the interesting works of art are reproduced in 32 Plates. But a map of Bihar showing the principal places of historical importance is a desideratum. Typographical errors in the text are numerous; the language, too, is capable of considerable improvement. An indiscriminate use of the article 'the' is noticeable.

K. K. PILLAY.

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A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.,

(Sometime Research Fellow, University of Madras, and for many years a Senior Member of the History Department of the Union Christian College, Alwaye).

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